CHILD STUDY

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HEADLINES

What do parents mean when they speak of "discipline"? Not only must our concepts of this term change with a changing world, but our applications, too, must change from one age of childhood to another.

★

In his editorial in this issue Lawrence Frank, writer and lecturer on parent education who is active in the Society for Research in Child Development, suggests the challenge of the times as these affect the discipline of our children. Helen Steers Burgess is chairman of the Pamphlet Committee of the Child Study Association, and is herself the mother of young children. The question of crying is discussed by O. H. Mowrer, Ph.D., of the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, and assistant professor, Department of Psychology, and Willie Mae Mowrer, Ph.D., psychologist at the New Haven Children's Center. Dr. Phyllis Greenacre is Professor of Clinical Psychiatry at New York Hospital, Cornell Medical College Association, and Chief of Clinic of the Psychiatric out-patient department, Payne-Whitney Clinic. Dr. Herbert Gruenberg, who is on the medical staff of Mount Sinai Hospital and Division of Tuberculosis at Metropolitan Hospital, contributes to our Science Department.

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And since we are engaged in re-evaluating some of the old-fashioned virtues, the next issue will deal with "Manners and the Younger Generation."

DISCIPLINE OF THE CHILD

WHILE the question of discipline facing parents and teachers usually arises from a concrete situation and a specific issue of the child's conduct, it involves some of our basic ideas and beliefs that are today in all stages of transition. If we believe that the child is innately wicked, sinful, and antisocial, and that the highest virtue is rigid conformity to social requirements, then discipline must be enforced by every means possible for coercing the child and compelling his obedience. As soon as we begin to question this older conception of human nature and to realize how often these methods of child rearing create lifelong feelings of resentment that are often exhibited in aggressive, destructive conduct, we tend to embrace the opposite principle that the child should have no discipline or coercion, lest we distort his personality and create these persistent antagonisms and resentments; but then we find that we have only created another form of personality deviation that, in its extreme forms, may be as destructive to the individual and to society as the coercive policy to which it is opposed.

THIS, then, is the dilemma that parents and teachers face today and, as so often is the case, it arises apparently from a misunderstanding of what the child needs. Perhaps the simplest way to state this briefly is that the individual, all through childhood and adolescence, as he is slowly learning to live in the grown-up world, is desperately in need of consistent, firm guidance in his conduct, not merely for his adjustment to society but more importantly for the managing of his own impulsive and emotional life. But just as acutely does he need warm, affectionate and understanding love from those who give this guidance, so that he can tolerate the necessary frustrations and repressions that every society demands of its members, without the conflicts and distortions, the resentments and aggressions that coercive and punitive discipline so often creates, when it makes the child feel he is worthless or unloved. In practice this means that we tell the child that his conduct is not desirable or permissible, but we do not call him naughty, wicked, sinful or worthless.

AS WE clarify these emerging new conceptions of human nature and conduct and of the relation of the individual to his group, we will undoubtedly find that the problem of discipline in the home and in the school will increasingly change, with benefits not only to the child but to the often bewildered parent and to the teacher. We will then learn how to love our children without "spoiling" them, how to discipline without creating guilt or resentment.

Lawrence K. Frank

Where Does Discipline Begin?

By HELEN BURGESS

This is a condensation of material prepared for the Pamphlet Committee of the Child Study Association with a view to reaching a wide and varied audience. The pamphlet in more comprehensive form is to be published in the near future.

WHAT STOPS us from committing crimes? It is not THE LAW, enforced from outside, it is not a rigid self-control administered from within; it is the easy acceptance of the type of behavior that is socially and morally expected in a civilized world. This is self-discipline in the adult manner. It is this kind of discipline that we are aiming at as a goal for our children. This "problem of discipline," if we look at it in the large, is really the most far-reaching, all-embracing problem that confronts us as parents. It is, in the end, the problem of teaching the child how to live, how to be guided by the standards that are set for him and how to make those standards his own, that he may live at peace with himself as well as with the world.

In the beginning it seems easy enough, for the beginning is when he is born. We didn't realize that this was when the problem of discipline first appeared, nor that we had dealt with it so competently and so wisely. But at birth he was largely a bundle of imperious demands, all relating directly and entirely to himself. The succeeding months taught him a good deal about controlling those demands—taught him that he gets fed, not whenever he is hungry, but only at set intervals of three or four hours. This simple routine, enforced without force, works to an almost incredible extent so that finally he is aware of being hungry only at those intervals. And we proceed with the same comparative simplicity, guiding him further toward self-discipline, so that he tends of his own accord to sleep at naptime and at night, to prefer, much later, of course, dry pants to wet, and so on. All this time he will have been learning without any special stress that there are some things we like him to do and some we don't; that when he claps his hands, it pleases us, and when he throws his food on the floor it doesn't. Many, many things he has learned by the time he is eighteen months old, and they have all been discipline, though neither he nor we have thought of them as such.

In all these matters we have taken the entire responsibility. But we cannot continue indefinitely that way. It is when we begin to expect him to take the responsibility for his own actions that the trouble starts. This "trouble" may take various forms at various times. One of these forms is likely to be what we call contrariness.

Sometimes, it seems that the very fact that you have told your child not to touch a particular thing makes that particular thing seem especially desirable for touching. This contrariness is a factor to be expected and to be allowed for. Nor does it necessarily mean that discipline has failed in some way or that the relations with the child are at fault. It is perhaps not so much his relations with you that are out of tune, as his relations with himself. And that discord, so disturbing in the home, so trying to our patience, is an integral, vital part of the process of growing up. Of course he's off key and out of adjustment; his baby nature, egotistic, grasping, insistent, is fighting every minute. He is undergoing a civilizing process which is most uncomfortable for him.

At times like these, he is very close to hating the person who stands for law and order, and feels that the person in authority hates him too because he is being thwarted. He will strike out blindly in one way or another. Yet even in his rebellion, a child expects his parents to stand for law and order as well as for love and kindness. He is bewildered and disturbed by a parent who indulges his lawlessness. He asks you, if you will, to save him from himself, from the confusion and consequences of his own destructive impulses, even while he will make it just as hard for you as he can.

But if we realize that a conflict must take place, we need not be appalled or discouraged when we see some outward signs of it. Our job is not so much to eradicate the signs as to help the child resolve the conflict within him.

He is living in the world all the time he's learning *how* to live in it, and that is one reason why it is so difficult. Our techniques have to work in the present as well as to teach the child for the future. Let us say that your child, expressly forbidden to leave the front yard or the playground, has wandered off the range, and what's to be done about it? By the time you have lugged him back screaming, your own impulse to hit where the hitting is good is doubtless not far from the surface. Maybe you conquer it and maybe you don't; you will find science ready with a large body of evidence on each side of the question, To Spank or Not to Spank.

TO MOST parents, certainly to most mothers, the idea is of itself a bit repellent. It seems at best unfortunate that with everything else on our side anyway, with more understanding, education, training and experience than the child, we should have to resort to so primitive a way as that because we are bigger and stronger. Sometimes, indeed, a slap or a spanking does seem to work beautifully in clearing the air for two over-wrought persons, much as a thunderstorm breaks up the heat and mugginess of a summer day. The analogy is suggestive in another way, however: many thunderstorms are harmless, but not even the wisest man knows when the lightning will strike. It would certainly be safer if we could avoid the tenseness and friction that bring on an emotional storm.

Some psychologists claim, in vindication of spanking, that it is the quickest and most psychically painless way of assuaging the child's own sense of guilt for having done the forbidden thing. It is true that we do not want to overburden a child with a sense of guilt, but do we, on the other hand, want to even the score quite so simply?

Spanking may be a simple action, but the motives behind it and the reactions to it are not likely to be simple at all. Without going into the subject too deeply we can certainly agree that a great deal depends on the individual child. For a sturdy physically active kind of child, the climber and romper, it would perhaps be less dangerous than for the so-called sensitive child who plays more with his imagination than with his toys. The child with a great sense of dignity—and most of them have it—may be wounded far more than you intended and far more than he shows. He may emerge with a real sense of injury, of injustice having been done; Mother says, "Don't hit" and then mother hits; ergo, mother is unfair and not to be trusted. It is not too much to say that this is really a frightful situation for the child—to be utterly helpless in a topsy-turvy world where the "good" person behaves like the "bad" part of him.

As for the tougher-fibred child, if it is less dangerous for him, it is also less effective. He may come out of the experience having learned that if he is going to cross the street, it had better be when you don't see him; or that he'd better go further away next time where you can't find him; or, maybe, that he had a good time and it was worth the consequences and will be again. None of this was what we meant to teach him, but it is conceivably what he may learn.

The postponed spanking, the method of "wait until your father hears of this," has even more confusing possibilities and dangers. If you use it for the simple reason that you are not strong enough to apply the physical force necessary to a strapping boy of six, you may be justified. Provided, that is, that you are willing to have the child get two ideas: First, that might is right; and second, that you are not particularly right since you have no particular might.

The connotation in the child's mind that father is the punisher, whether verbal or physical, is also especially unfortunate since ordinarily the father has so little time to establish friendly relations with his child. Most fathers are away all day, and busy at least part of the week-end, and it seems too bad that their brief time with their children should be associated with punishing.

As far as accomplishing the original presumed purpose of teaching the child not to run away, the postponed punishment fails too. A little child's sense of time is not like an adult's. For him the present is all, and punishment that takes place long after the crime is committed, as it necessarily must with this method, seems to him merely the holding of a grudge for something long since over.

Deprivations for the child under six involve the same difficulty. It is hard for him to connect what he did before supper with what he is deprived of after supper or maybe tomorrow. You say, "To punish you for such and such I am not going to take you to the beach tomorrow, or I am going to put your bicycle away for a week," or whatever you believe is going to make him miserable enough to be effective. This sounds all right at the time but how about tomorrow? You've got to live with a child who is without his favorite occupation, not at all a pleasant child to live with; or without the article or entertainment you had promised, a resentful, suspicious child. Can you stick to your guns and not give in? If you do, you'll be punishing yourself as well. And when

it's all over will you really have accomplished what you intended? Will he remember at some future date, when temptation is about, how unhappy and bored he was once for several hours or days after he had yielded to such a temptation?

Whether you call it a "deprivation" or a "reward" is merely a matter of terminology. Rewards are simply inverted deprivations. "If you pick up your room you may have a friend in for supper," means "If you don't, you won't." This method does, however, have more of the aspect of friendliness and politeness about it, and sometimes it may work. "If you stay quietly in bed without calling me for drinks of water, I'll take you to the playground tomorrow." "If you behave nicely while Mrs. Black is here, you may have a cookie." If it does work, what has your child learned? He has learned to bargain rather than to behave nicely, and thereafter when there are no cookies there'll be no courtesy.

AND what about threats? Will they work? Yes —sometimes. A mother was heard expostulating with a difficult three-year-old in a department store. "If you don't stop pulling things off the counters, I'll go away and leave you in the store." It worked—that time. Perhaps it was her tone of voice that pulled him up short or perhaps he really was afraid she would leave him. But do we really want a little child to feel that his mother's care and protection are dependent on his not pulling things off counters? Or that they may be withdrawn at a moment's notice? Of course, it wasn't true. Neither that mother nor any other would have left her child in the store no matter what he had done or failed to do. And once the child has found that out, this threat or any other will be useless. Worse than useless, because in addition he will have learned that mother's word is not to be depended on.

All these techniques for dealing with children's misbehavior seem, then, to be faulty. Not only do they often fail to accomplish even their immediate purpose, but they guide the child not at all toward that final objective of disciplining himself. We have suggested only a few of the examples of misbehavior and a few of the traditional ways of handling them, but each of us can fill in between the lines with his own experiences. All of these things which parents try, from mild scoldings or rewards, to threats, deprivations or actual physical force, have one common denominator, control by fear. It is a very potent force; history bears witness to that. But does it lead to the widening outlook we want our children to have, to the sturdy, serene acceptance of experience and the capacity to cope with it?

It is true that the weaker members tend to fall in line in the face of fear, and to make, perhaps, less trouble. But is this a very glowing picture? The stronger members behave otherwise. Instead of submitting tamely they accept the method but try to use it on others. A child can learn very easily to use the threat of tears or tantrums, and has not our scruples about carrying out his unspoken threat. Or he may wait, defiant and unconvinced, for the time when he will be stronger than you, and practice in the meantime on weaker children.

Does this mean that wise parents are never going to use fear, or any form of coercion, as tools in shaping their children's conduct? It is, we know, a rhetorical question. If this were wisdom, still we are none of us so very wise. Of course we will find ourselves in positions where we fall short of our knowledge and precepts. And who is to say that this is anything but merely being human? Children can stand a certain amount of mismanagement; they may possibly even benefit by a little of it. They can learn that adults are not always right; there is comfort for the child in knowing that he is not alone in this respect.

IF YOUR child loves you he will unconsciously want to please you; unconsciously he will do many things because they win your approval. It was the way he started as a baby, learned to clap his hands for you and to love doing it. And you have gone on, too, showing your approval of the things he does that are good for him to do, until gradually he learns that they please him also, and does them for that reason. Complicated things—like telling the truth when it hurts to do it—he may do to please you but gradually and at long last it is his own conscience that develops and it is his own standard he lives up to.

Your position as parent is, however, a delicate one. You must beware of playing on his wish to please you. It was originally, and it should remain, a spontaneous, unasked behavior. The loveliest quality changes when we use it as a weapon. When we do, the child can be learning to apply a test for his actions which will prove but an insecure standard at best. The girl who studies hard to please her teacher may learn some history in the process; but she isn't learning to find satisfaction either in the learned history or in the pleasure of a task accomplished.

Can we hope to use reasoning as a disciplinary device—that is, as a means of getting done what

should be done and preventing what should not? In many cases we can, and it's always worth trying. It appeals to the child, when he is old enough, to be treated reasonably, but you mustn't expect *him* to be the reasonable one. What it amounts to generally is: you, the parent, offer him a reason why he should or should not do thus and thus; it satisfies him indirectly to know that there is a reason, and to be assured that you are treating him fairly. But that seldom means that your reasons have convinced him. For instance, you can explain to him that he must come out of the swimming pool after a certain length of time because it might be bad for his health to stay in longer. Then you call him at the appointed time, and if you are lucky he comes. If he does it is because he recognizes not only your authority but also your good-will in the matter.

Surely this is what you want. You wouldn't want, even if you could get it, a child who is really so ruled by his mind that he can always be logically approached. As he grows, his mind, of course, will be developing more and more power to think clearly, to look back and learn from mistakes, to look ahead and avoid them. In the meantime you don't depend too much on his word; you realize that the promises he makes he will revoke at will and without warning. This is due partly to his private logic of "Yes, but I *want* to." And partly to his sense of time. He didn't mean to be mortgaging his future when he said he wouldn't touch the sewing machine—he didn't even think of a future. When the impulse and the opportunity to explore the sewing machine next occur, it will be a fresh new experience; if he recalls any words with you on the subject they will probably seem like something silly he said a long time ago. Your job is not to convince him with reasons of the danger of playing with the sewing machine, but to maintain the authority of "No, not for children," *and* prevent the opportunity.

THERE are in the last sentence the keys to the discipline problem: MAINTAINING AUTHORITY and PREVENTING OPPORTUNITY. There are others needed—we will mention them a little later—but these two unlock the gate and give us a glimpse of the vistas ahead. Maybe it seems paradoxical, maybe it seems inconsistent, to say in general: Don't spank, don't threaten, don't punish, don't bribe, don't coax, just maintain authority! But we have seen that certain methods for maintaining it are not satisfactory, and we need a more basic point of view. In all those techniques we discussed and found faulty we were talking in terms of what could be done *to the child* to make him acknowledge your authority. Let us turn it around and ask: *What kind of authority* is it we want the child to acknowledge?

It is the authority of a person who is just . . . whom the child can see is just, and whose greater wisdom he respects; of a person who is fair to him, honest with him, understanding of him, loving him. And the last should be first.

It is also the authority of a person who feels secure in what he is doing. Real security can bear a good deal of questioning. If your authority is secure you can afford to give in occasionally; insecure authority never dares. If it's a matter of, "I told you to pick up your hat and coat. *Pick it up,*" met with, "I won't," the parent who is unsure of his authority is the one who, oddly enough, insists on putting it to the test and bringing on a clash of wills in which each is determined to be the stronger. No matter who wins, it is an ugly situation. The parent whose authority is real is often ready to forego it, and when she meets with "I won't" can say in a surprised voice something like, "Well, you're not in a good mood, for goodness' sake I'll help you if you feel so unwilling yourself, so you'll know how next time."

The authority you have must be that of a person who is herself disciplined, who rarely loses her temper because she knows that she is dealing with a child on the road to maturity, of a person who is not always asking the child to cooperate with her, but also offers to cooperate with him.

In a home where the children are well-mannered and happy, as well as obedient, we need not look so carefully at the children to see how they got that way. Look at the parents. The children have not learned by precept or by punishment, but by absorption of what is around them. They will not get for a long time the perfect outward reflection of those inner intangibles we want them to have. But if they have absorbed kindliness toward others and genuine interest in them, then they have the roots of real courtesy. Saying Please and Thank You are very minor and comparatively easy for a child when he hears these things said around him and has the *feeling* of courtesy within him. So with the other qualities we want him to have; if we think what real ambition, real independence, real unselfishness really are, we can see they cannot be achieved by forcing the outward behavior, but only by slow development of the child from within, by giving him an atmosphere in which

these qualities are operating and letting him see that these are not only what we want for him but what he wants for himself.

This is not making life too easy for the child; it is not softening him, not giving in to him. But it means that we parents will be content with slow progress, that we will endeavor to put first things first, and not become confused as to our ultimate goal. We tend to lay waste our powers on many Don'ts and Must Nots which could be better saved for more important things. For a parent's authority is necessary; it is the underlying rock on which the child's whole scheme of order in the universe is based. To stop thinking in terms of discipline does not at all mean to give up your authority. No; keep it, preserve it, but don't waste it!

THE other key, Preventing Opportunity, means just what it says. It means that for a long time, for years and years, we stay in the picture. Unobtrusively, yes, but we stay there. We try to develop the child's own sense of responsibility, but we are there ready to step in before a catastrophe occurs, before the need for "discipline" arises.

But what about the other keys? What shall we do after the catastrophe, major or minor, has occurred? Well, like all the constructive elements in the parent-child relationship, these keys need you to use them. If it's playing with dangerous scissors, or climbing up the trellis to the second-story window where he may really hurt himself, you may save the energy consumed in forbidding these things by getting him a pair of blunt scissors or a jungle gym. If it's chewing bubble gum or wailing for a pink hair-ribbon with a red dress, you can allow childhood a good deal of leeway about things that are distasteful to adults but of no great significance. If it's refusing cod-liver oil, you can ask your doctor if something else can be substituted that will accomplish the same results. Not always, but frequently enough, a problem may be eliminated by asking oneself "Why not?" and giving oneself a really honest answer.

Some other problems can be eliminated by asking oneself, What, *in his own terms*, has he really done? Broken something valuable and that costs a lot of trouble or money? No; all he knows is that he knocked against a table. Not a "bad" action usually, only clumsy. In this case it happened to be costly and very irritating, but he doesn't need to be brought into the situation except to be cautioned.

Sometimes we ourselves are not only part of the picture, but we're the whole picture. It is our own headache, or a scene with a maid, or an irritation with husband (or wife) that makes us impatient, or tense, and thus sets the stage for trouble. Sometimes, with a grievance or discouragement in other affairs, a parent will turn to the child unconsciously for comfort, and when he gets only the usual combination of brattishness and sweetness will be doubly disappointed. The problems that arise out of situations like this were not really the child's doing at all.

Why did he do it? If you take time to ask this, it will be a step in the right direction. To answer it you will often need not only all the tender understanding of a parent but some knowledge, too, of psychological and medical science. He may be coming down with a cold, he may be jealous, he may be tired; he may not be getting the right food, he may not have the right playthings; he may have hidden anxieties, he may have a glandular unbalance; he may need his tonsils removed. We try to answer this question; the pediatrician can sometimes help us, sometimes not. There are sources, however, from which we can find out what degree of skill and social development we have a right to expect at any given age, and this is frequently helpful.

No agency can tell you exactly how to bring up your child, because you and your child are different from anybody else and anybody else's child. Nor are you two, even, the same today as you were yesterday, nor can you know what tomorrow will bring. Whatever devices we use to get obedience, to enforce discipline, to uphold authority, are relatively unimportant compared to the attitude we bring to bear on the situation. We can read that children in a nursery school are disciplined or punished when they misbehave by isolation from the group, simply that and nothing more, and it works wonderfully. So it may. So may any technique. Yet any one may be harmful if used in the wrong way, or on the wrong person, or by the wrong person.

If we can stop thinking of our children as good or as bad, but as learning; if we can look far ahead for them and teach them so that some day they will not need us; if we can in the meantime use every skill that our own love brings and that science can contribute, to reveal to us what life may look like to a little child, and to interpret our values in terms that are understandable to a little child; if we can do these things, and at the same time *enjoy* our children in each swiftly passing phase, then truly that old bugbear "the discipline problem" will dissolve into the splendid process of learning how to live.

The Meaning and Management of Crying

By O. H. MOWRER and WILLIE MAE MOWRER

FAR from being the blissful state which poets have pictured, childhood has come to be recognized as a period of severe frustrations, anxieties, and hostilities which make normal adult life seem tranquil indeed by comparison. The reason for these conflicting and turbulent emotions is the pressure which our culture demands that we exert upon children in order to cause them to abandon infantile ways of behaving and "grow up." This pressure is commonly made verbally explicit in our admonition to the child not to "be a baby" but instead to be a *big* boy or girl. Precociousness on the part of children in the acquisition of grown-up habits is always pointed to with pride. And well it may be, for this process of "adultizing" the child is an arduous and often, for the child, a dangerous one. It is, however, none the less necessary and inevitable. Our problem as parents and teachers is to learn to carry it through effectively and efficiently yet with the minimum of damage to the integrity of the child's personality. Naturally we do not wish to make the child's rôle in this process needlessly difficult for him, yet we commonly do precisely this by virtue of the methods which we employ in attempting to achieve the desired ends. A situation in which we are especially likely to work at cross purposes is that which arises in connection with the problem of crying, both in the infant and in the older child. But this can be avoided; and it is the purpose of the following pages to suggest certain principles and a point of view which the writers have seen empirically tested and believe to be consistent with the most acceptable theoretical conception of childhood and its problems.

THERE has been a pronounced tendency among recent books on child training to recommend that crying in infants be systematically ignored and that under no circumstances should the infant be allowed to "get what he wants" by this opprobrious method. The rationalization usually offered for such a procedure is that it is a sure means of preventing the child from becoming "spoiled." One cannot, however, escape the suspicion that many persons who take this prescription seriously are more intent upon having a "good baby" than a mentally and emotionally normal child. It must be kept in mind that crying in infants has a definite biological utility. It is nature's distress signal, and we take a serious responsibility in not heeding it. The very young infant does not cry unless he is in discomfort or need; the well-fed, comfortable, emotionally satisfied baby goes to sleep. Too rigidly scheduled feeding and other ultra-scientific practices—such as never fondling and playing with the infant—have more to condemn than commend them. This is not to say that a reasonable degree of regularity is not desirable or that the infant as he grows older should not be taught to tolerate moderate gratification delays; but to regard a schedule as sacred is to make an end of what at best is a dubious means. To what extent the varieties of "indigestion" which one sees nowadays in infants result from too infrequent or too restricted feeding or from other gratuitous frustrations one can only surmise; but if adult introspections are any index to the state of affairs existing in infancy, strong emotional excitement and tension of the kind which appears to accompany prolonged and exhausting crying in infants is anything but a satisfactory preparation for eating. There are many good reasons for believing that a serious attempt should be made to hold crying to the very minimum in infants. It is not without interest and perhaps significance to note that nothing comparable to the feeding disorders seen in modern human infants is found in other young mammals which are restricted in their feeding only by the rigors of nursing.

But more serious still are the psychological consequences of disregarding the crying of infants. Not only is crying a necessary means of indicating needs; it is also the child's first way of establishing contact with and control over the external world. And by refusing to respond to this form of behavior one is inflicting upon the infant what must soon become a feeling of resentment and futility. Such an experience, systematically reinforced for the first year or two of life, can scarcely fail to have a profound effect upon the emotional attitudes of the child and, we suspect, upon his personality development throughout life. A narcissistic, or "shut-in," personality is recognized as an important predisposing factor in the development of some of the most serious of mental diseases; and it is difficult to conceive of any-

thing more nicely calculated to conduce to the formation of this type of personality than the practice of persistently ignoring the child's first efforts to establish external contacts and social interactions.

The importance of a child's being loved and of feeling secure can scarcely be over-emphasized from the point of view of healthy personality development. During the early months of the infant's life, we have a uniquely favorable opportunity of establishing such a feeling; at this time the infant, being so completely dependent upon others, readily becomes attached to the person or persons who respond to his signals of need and distress. Later, when this period of legitimate indulgence comes to an end and the parents or parent substitutes have to begin to play a more exacting role with the child, a state of mixed feeling, or ambivalence, is inevitably generated; but so long as the love and positive feeling established during infancy (and reinforced during succeeding years) exceed the negative, hostile feelings which tend to be produced by discipline, a healthy child-parent relationship is preserved and personality development proceeds along essentially normal lines. If, however, we deliberately sacrifice the opportunity which infancy affords us of establishing strong, sustaining bonds of affection, we are likely to find ourselves distinctly handicapped in attempting to cope with later problems. For by prematurely and gratuitously frustrating the infant—as we unavoidably do if we systematically ignore his crying—we definitely restrict the development of his basic affection for us and thereby limit his capacity to accept the really essential frustrations which must come later.

On the other hand, in holding that crying has a real justification and utility in early infancy, one is not committed to the view that it should be permitted or encouraged in the child at later ages. Crying is an extremely primitive, undifferentiated type of reaction, and the conditions of social living are such as to demand its elimination relatively early in the life history of the individual. An important question here arises, however, as to when this should be undertaken. Animals seem to possess this knowledge instinctively. Female dogs, for example, respond solicitously to the least whimper of their puppies when they are very young, but with the passage of time they gradually abandon this solicitude and begin to nip and cuff their offspring about, as if to train them for and inure them to the hardships of later existence. Pigeons at first feed their young by means of regurgitation on highly predigested "pigeon milk" and hover protectively over them; but gradually they lessen their protectiveness, feed the young on less and less completely predigested food, and eventually drive them ruthlessly from the home nest. Rudimentary knowledge of this sort probably still exists in human beings, but it is easily overlaid and repressed by contrary education and cannot be relied upon as the infallible guide it seems to be in animals.

IN GENERAL, it can be said that one should discourage crying in young children to the extent that they have become capable of learning to express their needs or of achieving their ends by more adult-like modes of behavior. For example, as the child reaches the age at which he should begin to talk, he should be expected to put his wants more and more into verbal terms instead of crying. Likewise, as the child becomes capable of walking and doing things for himself, he should be discouraged against trying to coerce others into waiting upon him. These early lessons in self-sufficiency are the stepping-stones to the acquisition of those attributes of independence, resourcefulness, and self-confidence which are so indispensable to successful adult living. It is not the infant whose crying has been heeded that makes the spoilt child; it is instead the child whose parents have not known when to cease responding to his crying and to begin to exert pressure on him, and as his capacities develop to substitute more socially mature ways of reacting.

Other reasons why the child, once past the genuine helplessness of infancy, should be discouraged, at first gently and then more and more firmly, against the use of crying are evident. The child who is allowed to continue to employ crying as a "technique" beyond the second or third year is at a definite disadvantage not only as regards his intellectual development, but also in making a good social adjustment. Adults and older children react unfavorably to the "cry-baby" type of child. This negative reaction on the part of others is a real obstacle to the formation of positive social feeling and good-will. Parents should realize that in teaching a child to be courteous and well-mannered, they are not only showing consideration for others but are also rendering the child himself a service in that they are making easier his task of adjusting to and gaining acceptance by adult society. Parents who permit a child to cry to the extent of seriously annoying others are doing that child a real injustice and are needlessly complicating his already difficult problem of social adjustment.

Moreover, in discouraging a child against the use of crying as a "technique," one seems greatly to

reduce the occurrence of crying in situations, such as physical injury, severe fright, or other traumatic circumstances, in which this behavior may be regarded as more pardonable. Training in not resorting to crying as a method of social manipulation seems, interestingly enough, to give a child a certain fortitude and courage in the face of really trying circumstances which he would not otherwise possess. As the years pass, crying comes to have less and less reality value, and the more completely it can be eliminated, the more likely the individual is to arrive at socially acceptable solutions to his problems.

If the problem of crying is improperly dealt with, it may come to involve activities which have not only psychological but also physical consequences of a seriously traumatic character. The writers have, for example, seen children in whom temper tantrums had been allowed to reach such proportions that they pulled out hair by the handfuls, banged their heads on the floor to the extent of blackening their eyes, and scratched and pinched themselves unmercifully. And this is to say nothing of the destructiveness and dangerousness of such children when their aggressiveness, instead of being turned inward, is directed toward other persons and property.

GRANTING the necessity and importance of eliminating crying in older children, the question now arises as to how this can be most effectively and yet, as we have said, harmlessly accomplished. An established mode of behavior is never abandoned except under some degree of pressure; our present problem is to determine the manner in which this pressure can be most expediently exerted.

Many writers have advocated that crying in older children be handled in the same way as has already been alluded to above in connection with the crying of infants, namely, by the "crying-out" method. We can, however, see no more to commend this method for use with older children than with infants, although the reasons for our objections in the two cases are different.

One of the most obvious objections to the crying-out method with older children is that under many circumstances it is entirely impracticable. The patience of neighbors and other members of the household often has to be taken into consideration; and continued crying may also be interpreted by outsiders as due to neglect or mistreatment. Even if conditions are such that crying can be allowed to go on indefinitely in the home, the fact remains that there are many occasions, especially in public, when this is wholly out of the question. Furthermore, the child's contacts are by no means ordinarily restricted to the parents who have this plan in mind. Nurses, maids, relatives, teachers, and playmates often react to the child's crying in such a way as to reward and encourage this type of behavior. Parents are consequently usually faced by the task of counteracting the influence of others, in addition to dealing with the problems which arise independently in this connection. In remedial work with other people's children this difficulty is, of course, even more acute.

Some persons may be inclined to justify the use of the crying-out method with older children on the grounds that it supposedly imposes relatively little frustration upon the child. During recent years what seems to us to be a total misapprehension has arisen in the minds of many persons concerning this matter of frustration. It derives, we surmise, at second- or third-hand from psychoanalytic sources. It is true that analytic studies have led to the conclusion that adult neuroses are often the outgrowth of severe childhood frustrations. But neither Freud nor any other competent observer in this field has ever maintained that frustration can or should be entirely avoided. It is an essential feature of the process of education and has untoward consequences only when it is misapplied or abnormally intense, thereby leading to undesired repression instead of the mere redirection of behavior. The amount of frustration which children can tolerate varies greatly, dependent partly upon training (including the child-parent emotional relationship) and partly upon constitutional factors over which we have no control; but the risk here involved is unavoidable, one which we have to accept as the price of civilized existence. The elimination of infantile crying in older children is part of their social education and as such cannot be achieved without some frustration. From the point of view of the severity of the frustration involved, it is, however, a vastly different matter to attempt to curb crying in the older child who is fully competent to develop alternative and ultimately more satisfying modes of response than it is to ignore this behavior in the infant at a time when, as a means of signifying his needs, it is his only resource. Frustration, either in the form of deprivations or punishments, is the basic substance from which the "pressure to grow up," to which we have referred, is made; the real problem is not whether the child should or should not be frustrated but rather, how can the child be frustrated the requisite amount yet with as little danger as possible of traumatic after-effects.

If we can control a child's environment sufficiently to prevent an established form of behavior from achieving the customary end, we can usually cause the child to abandon this form of behavior and shift to some other, more approved line of action. This is the method of frustration through deprivation. But crying seems to be relatively uncontrollable by this method. This behavior is the instinctive, infantile reaction to frustration, and the more frustration mounts, the more vigorous the crying naturally tends to become. Once begun, crying seems to have a peculiar tendency to be more or less self-perpetuating; and for this reason it presents a somewhat unique problem.

In general it would appear that the unjustifiable crying of older children has to be dealt with more directly, by inhibiting it through punishment*. Parents who have been able to handle their children wisely from birth on, find relatively little difficulty in curbing crying when the time comes to do so. A word or a mere disapproving glance often suffices in such cases; for such children this is enough of a punishment to supply the necessary inhibitory influence. But parents are not, unfortunately, always as competent in the field of child-training as they should be. For the many persons who have to correct either their own earlier mistakes or rectify the errors of others, this problem is more difficult and one which they need to be able to approach understandingly and without uncertainty or guilt.

WE REALIZE that anyone who today advocates, however circumspectly, the use of physical punishment with children runs a serious risk of being termed old-fashioned or, what is worse, deliberately sadistic. This vogue—and we use this word advisedly—is a thoroughly understandable reaction against the needlessly severe methods of child-training of a few decades ago. But the reaction against what was once a real evil has, we feel, gone too far; the mere fact that a method or technique of child-training may be misused is not a sufficient reason, as many psychiatrists and psychologists seem to assume, for condemning it altogether. We conjecture that today many parents may be doing quite as much damage to their children through the confusion, uncertainty, and lack of effective control on their part which are likely to be created by some of the newer views in this field as was formerly done by over-severity. The child whose parents are vacillating and unsure of themselves in their requirements and who are unable or reluctant to see that these requirements are met suffers, we are convinced, no less than the definitely rejected and unloved child.

We, too, thoroughly disapprove of the indiscriminate use of spanking as a disciplinary measure. The continued, habitual use of spanking with a given child indicates some serious defect in the parent-child relationship or in the specific manner in which discipline is applied. There are, however, a few critical situations in which spanking is not only warranted but decisively indicated; and the occurrence of infantile crying in older children is, we believe, such a situation.

But in speaking of spanking as a method of discouraging crying, we are not referring to the type of procedure which most persons probably associate with this term. So uniformly and rigorously enforced is the tabu against what has been called "in-group aggression," *i.e.*, against the infliction of physical injury or pain upon a fellow member of one's own society, that many of us find it difficult to use physical punishment with children except quite irrationally. Only when provoked to the point that we "blow up" emotionally are our inhibitions in this connection released; and we then descend upon the child in a kind of blind fury. The administration of a "good sound spanking" reduces the amount of excess adrenalin in the provoked adult's blood stream, relieves him of accumulated tensions, and allows him then to return to emotional equilibrium. The aggression-tabu soon reasserts itself, however, and the adult is overcome with remorse which he then often attempts to dispel by mollifying the child or even openly repenting before him.

Such a procedure does double damage. It diminishes the child's sense of fairness and his respect for authority and discipline and, when precipitated by crying on the part of the child, actively aggravates the behavior which it is intended to eliminate. Although perhaps not aware of such an intention, parents and other persons responsible for the training of children usually act in administering a spanking as if their primary purpose is, in fact, to *make* the child cry. The promptness and loudness with which a child cries seems to be tacitly accepted as a valid index to the amount of "good" which the spanking is doing; other things equal, the child who yells the quickest and most lustily gets off with the lightest chastisement. Thus a powerful premium is placed upon precisely the type of response we have agreed

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* *For a different view of this point, see Parents' Questions, page 112.*

Between Six and Twelve

By PHYLLIS GREENACRE

SIX to twelve, the second six years of life, form in general the lower school period—the period from the first grade to junior high school. This is usually the time when the child is meeting other children in a larger group than he has previously experienced. At the same time he is meeting a new type of learning, through the media of reading and writing. Previously he had learned through direct experience or the spoken communications of those who belonged to his own intimate family—mother and father, older children, and nurse.

Thus in this second six-year era his experiences suddenly increase very rapidly. He explores a larger world outside and finds within himself a new quickening of intellectual activity and a new awareness of intellectual tools. He no longer knows only the old familiar surroundings but must encounter a more impersonal environment than he has hitherto known. Moreover, contact with the larger group of children approximately his own age often increases his sense and practice of competitiveness. How much this may previously have been brought into play will depend, of course, on the individual family constellation and surroundings. He is no longer the center of his affairs; there are in fact many other claimants for that pleasant spot.

These three factors—separation from surroundings which he has been able to assume almost as part of himself, greater impersonality in contacts, and greater chance for competition—may, on the one hand, reinforce or substantiate a sense of self-dependence and adequacy, provided these new conditions are found satisfying to the child. But they may give new ground for fear and insecurity if he has difficulty in making friends or in meeting the school's demands.

WHAT shall be done about discipline during this period; what are the needs of discipline? And, in fact, what is discipline, anyway? This word whose very form bespeaks the original meaning of *training* (as for the making of a disciple or follower) has come to have a special connotation of drill and punishment. Certainly through all the various shades of its present meanings there runs the common idea of demanded, required or enforced behavior, in contrast to the acceptance of completely free spontaneous behavior. It involves a leading, shaping, molding, or forcing of behavior along certain lines and directions. In general we accept this as necessary in some degree from a common sense point of view; and it seems redundant to emphasize that discipline is desirable when it is really useful. Yet this does seem in fact often to be obscured.

There has already begun in the nursery period a tendency on the part of the child to pattern himself after those around him, to copy their actions and to be like or to wish to be like those big ones who arrange his universe and do things for him. During the early school years the number of people who influence the child in this way is enormously increased and parents share their rôle not only with the nurse but with teachers, play and sport leaders and others. This copying, both in outward behavior and in stored up ideas of what the child learns to regard as desirable, goes on gradually and sometimes almost imperceptibly. It forms a large contribution to the child's conscience—his sense of what he has a right to expect of himself and others, his later ideals and ambitions. Fortunate is the child with good patterns. Firmness gives a sense of safety. Tyranny, however, is likely to breed tyranny (by counter attack, by simulation, or a fusion of both). Inconsistency means confusion to the child, both in the way of "What shall I expect (and do) now?" and in the establishment of contradictory patterns to be imitated or followed. And so we might go on to other examples. Suffice it here to point out that this much of discipline occurs spontaneously and inevitably.

Another phase of discipline is accepted with such grateful ease by the child and incorporated so readily into his life that it often attracts little attention. To have some simple *organization* of the fundamentals of his day—to go to school at the same time, have three meals a day, sleep in the same bed at night—is both economical of effort and adds to his sense of security. It allows him to take these things for granted, expect them and carry them out in some degree automatically, rather than subjecting him to the necessity for manifold decisions, endlessly repeated day after day.

We commonly associate the idea of discipline with

those special situations requiring definite decisions and guidance—to do this, or not to do that. Children normally want to do what seems to promise pleasure and enjoyment. It is natural that this should be so: satisfying experience and fulfilment mean better development. Anyone grows more readily through exercise and activity than through living in a near vacuum. But there may be choices between pleasurable experiences, or that which the child desires may actually be dangerous to him or to others. The desire has then to be given up. His game of Indians may suggest a bonfire in the front yard, for example, but we can hardly let him assume the risks involved. The child of six to twelve is old enough to understand this if it is presented to him directly, simply and concretely. The discipline here not only fulfils the criterion of being useful, but when its usefulness and its reasonableness are grasped by the child himself, it is readily accepted and assimilated by him and fortifies his growing self-dependence or security in himself.

If, on the other hand, this same denial of pleasure is accomplished only through an apparently arbitrary demand of the parent or teacher, the child must either accept it with blind submissiveness, or rebel against it with the risk of being driven directly into the same danger now or later. Or perhaps by being misunderstood, the situation may become the source of some unnecessary and misplaced fear, liable to crop out later. We may oversell our case if we depend on violence without reasonable explanation. Our young Indian may possibly learn to fear all fire, when what we hoped to teach him was merely that unsupervised fire building is a dangerous occupation for a small boy.

PUNISHMENT, as a part of discipline, is certainly a much and warmly discussed question. The very intensity of emotion displayed in these discussions is testimony to its close alliance to anger. Punishment as a simple conditioning process in the child—the association of pain or discomfort with undesirable behavior—has been theoretically defended in the handling of young children to protect them against extreme dangers, such as a hot stove or a thoroughfare crowded with traffic. In practice, however, the soundness of this is to be gravely questioned. Even in such situations, the desired result can be obtained with repeated painless restraint measures. The span of time before a child can understand danger through being shown or told about it is relatively short, and there are usually other, and less heroic, protections available. There are play pens and yard gates and window bars which go far toward solving these problems. In many situations, however, a harassed or tense mother or nurse takes the shortcut of punishment in preference to other measures, not from choice but as an expression of her own tension. Then, when the punishment seems to "settle" the immediate situation, she feels relieved and self-justified in regard to it.

How does punishment work? The common denominator of all forms is the production of discomfort in the offender. This may be by direct infliction of bodily pain, as in slapping or whipping; or by psychic pain—scolding or shaming; or by an apparently milder, more diffuse pain—the deprivation of expected pleasure. The old nursery punishments, going without dessert or without the bedtime story, are in this class.

Inevitably connected with punishment is fear. This is greater even in childhood than in adulthood because the child is in a more dependent position, more vulnerable to any loss of security. The child's fear of actual pain is coupled with the fear of loss of love from those close to him, on whom he is dependent. Punishment works then by a threat to the security of the child. Its success as a preventive depends upon the recurrence of this fear in the next similar tempting situation.

Thus punishment is opposed to the increase in security which should occur as the result of more desirable forms of discipline. The child must understand why his behavior is undesirable, why it really is to his benefit and useful for him to give up what he wants at the moment, why the apparent pleasure may be fallacious. Otherwise the situation becomes reduced to a sort of pitting of fear against the hope of immediate pleasure. The result may easily be deceit, in the hope of avoiding the pain penalty. Thus the child may take forbidden sweets on the sly and lie about it later. Or he may decide to obtain the immediate pleasure and face the possibility of having to pay for it later with some sort of suffering. Perhaps he takes candy repeatedly and makes no effort to cover his tracks. If he accepts the punishment as the price to be paid, it no longer works as a deterrent and the young person becomes hardened and calloused in the process. This sort of thing helps neither his digestion nor his relation to his parents.

In still other instances, the lure of the pleasure remains, but the fear of punishment and of disapproval is felt and accepted though not understood.

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Do Our Young People Need Discipline?

A QUESTION AND AN ANSWER

The following letter came to us from a subscriber and since it seemed to be crying aloud for an answer we are printing it with our own editorial comment. The editors would welcome any further reactions on this matter from other readers. To what extent does this letter give a true picture of young people today?

THE LETTER

What is the matter with our young people? It seems to me that there is a sad cleavage between parents and their older children—the sixteen- to twenty-year-olds. These young people seem to be the product of this age, the result of too much individualism, too much freedom and choice, too much pampering or neglect, too much luxury and lack of objectives during their leisure time, with conflicting methods and discipline in home and school. During the recent years *parents* have been made to believe that *they* are the ones at fault. Criticism of all kinds has been hurled at them from teachers, college professors, lecturers, and preachers. Their discipline and traditional methods have been challenged. College students have been urged to shake off the shackles of home and mother as soon as possible and become free, independent personalities. The home ties have thus been deliberately weakened and broken, and after years of conscientious devotion and sacrifice on the part of the parents, the anticipated happy, united home with the children becoming more companionable every year has suddenly become a shattered dream. Courtesy, respect, and appreciation, yes, and affection for parents, are scorned as emotional weaknesses. Home has deteriorated into a dormitory for convenience and house parties, to be sluffed off as soon as youth becomes economically independent. Disrespect, discourtesy, thoughtlessness, carelessness of their own personal property and that of others, cruel, sharp rebukes, use of the home without regard for the older people, late hours, demand of all indulgences as their right, rudeness to the nth degree—these unhappy and tragic occurrences I hear of on all sides. The parents are nonplussed, for old standards are so changed and children are so imbued with the idea that older people know nothing, and that they with their exaggerated ego can decide all things, that parents don't dare assert themselves, nor do they know how to face the situation.

The difficulty is that too few parents were aware of these problems when their children were still young and are now facing the general upheaval of the age and these tragic results of experiments in education which have gone too far. The demand is for the discussion of this dilemma, which is very real, with children of high school and college age who will take their place in the world tomorrow. Where is the American family going?

FIRST we must ask the question, to what extent does the trouble lie with the young people, to what extent with their parents? Is the difficulty, when and where it exists, really one of "experiments in education which have gone too far" or does the trouble lie with attitudes and family relationships which have developed over the years?

In defense of modern education it should be said at once that it has never advocated letting children do exactly as they wish nor urged parents to create for them a small universe in which everything revolved around their whims. It has, we believe, emphasized from the beginning the importance of responsible behavior and made efforts to develop consideration for the rights and opinions of others. But it has done so in a setting of mutual sympathy between adults and children rather than in the form of arbitrary authority handed down from above. Perhaps the mistake of many parents has been in interpreting that "freedom for children" which we have heard so much about, to mean the total abdication of the parent from the rôle of control or guide. Where this mistake has been made it is true that children left rudderless in a complex environment may develop a delusion of omnipotence and a totally unrealistic conception of the world which they must live in. This is all very well—or so it appears—when the child is young. His arrogance can be laughed at, his bad manners tolerated. Suddenly, however, the parent becomes panicky. The child is growing up. He looks, dresses, acts in many ways like an adult, claims the privileges of an adult, while behaving in many of the more essential ways like a child. Because of this panic the parent suddenly begins to pounce upon the child, to criticize and complain of "young people today," belatedly and impotently to assert authority. In short, he makes an attack, and the young person, because he is at an age to be particularly sensitive about his rights and his independence, resists the attack with whatever weapons are at hand. To the parent, the child appears undisciplined and bad mannered. Therefore, says the parent to himself, we should have trained him more strictly in regard to

manners and disciplined him more consistently for misdemeanors in childhood.

But the matter with the young people in question does not seem to be a matter of their specific training in childhood. The difficulty lies in the whole temper and quality of the home in which they have lived and in the character of their parents' leadership. Courtesy which is worthy of the name, has never yet resulted from mechanical training in the conventional modes, and "discipline" is futile unless it can grow into self-discipline.

A home must be more than conventionally correct if young people are to develop the kind of good manners born of real regard for the feelings of the other fellow. It must be a home in which parents themselves feel sympathy and kindly impulses toward their neighbors, where imaginative understanding exists for everyone with whom they come in contact including maids, salesmen, hotel waiters, taxi drivers, and all those who serve us but are not looked upon as servants. Parents must react strongly to violations of these principles, not because they constitute bad manners but because they are unkindnesses. Consideration for the varying needs of others must underlie our behavior, and young people must be helped to discover what we are about. We go to visit grandmother frequently, not because it is proper to show respect for grandmother, but because we wish to bring happiness to any older person who cares a great deal. We give our seats to older people in public places, not because it is the "proper thing," but because we are younger and stronger and not so easily tired. We rise when an older person enters the room out of a spirit of protective deference—almost symbolic in character, which it is healthy for youth to feel toward age; not because it "looks badly not to." All of the so-called conventions are worth discussing with young people with a view to mutual discovery of the real basis of social values and human kindness on which they rest. Certain conventions there are which may not stand this test, in which case they are probably genuinely obsolete and may be ready for the discard. For example, it used to be unheard of for a young woman to pay her own way when going out with a young man. Women at one period had no economic resources of their own. They were wholly dependent on males. In a day like our own when this is changing rapidly there is also a tendency for this convention to yield.

This is a time when informality in conduct is the mode. There are now far fewer prescribed rules for social usages than formerly. We are therefore more than ever before dependent on the spirit over and above the letter. Parents, while they should be willing to change their own conceptions of proper social usage to conform with modern customs, must be sure that informality is not confused with rudeness, nor rudeness with informality. It is their job to keep clear-headed on these points and to see that their children, too, do not deceive themselves.

In a home where consideration for others is practiced by the parents and injustices and unkindnesses resented, it is not likely that the children will grow up inconsiderate and unkind. Nor are they likely to be irresponsible, if their parents have lived responsibly and made clear to them that responsibilities and self-discipline are as necessary in adult living as in childhood. If this gradual assimilation of parental values goes astray, the hitch comes not from failure in deliberate training but from antagonistic relationships which exist between parents and children and other family members.

It is true that home rebellion is also natural to normal adolescents. Even in homes where relationships are basically sound there are periods when the struggle between youth and their elders is acute and harmful. At these times there is often much of bravado and of opposition for opposition's sake, and it will require wisdom and insight on the parents' part to discern what the child is really feeling, whither he is really tending. Parents should be very sure that they discriminate between children's wholesome desire to live their own lives and the kind of callous disregard for anyone but themselves which is always characteristic of the person who really feels unloved.

No doubt the final authority and influence of the home have been in some measure weakened by the importance of other agencies and other influences in children's lives. If college presidents and others occasionally inveigh against the cloying kind of parental "smother love," which hampers the free growth of young people, parents should take warning. They need not, however, be intimidated into feeling that their last hour has struck. Rather they will need to re-evaluate their own standards and to recapture dignity in their relations to their children. This can not be done by lamentations or by wholesale condemnation of outside forces in their children's lives. Intelligence, sympathy, and respect for the young person's growth must prevail. But along with this parents will also need self-respect and the conviction that what they have to offer is born of wisdom and has real values.

Parents' Questions and Discussion

STUDY GROUP DEPARTMENT

Cécile Pilpel, Director—Anna W. M. Wolf, Editor

My boy screams at the top of his lungs whenever he is crossed in any way. We live in an apartment and it is very embarrassing to have the neighbors complain as they do. It is most distressing to us as well. We have tried everything, even have spanked him, but have not broken him of the habit. He is four years old and goes to a little school. The teacher says that he does not behave that way while there. How can I make him stop at home?

A child of four who still resorts to crying either to express dissatisfaction or gain his point, does so no doubt because he has found that it pays. He feels his power over you. It would be well to examine your procedure to see whether you show him you are afraid of him. Many mothers are afraid of their children. They don't want to raise issues, so they procrastinate, say "maybe," "we'll see about it," instead of being definite. With this child it may be wise to demand very little for awhile, center on only the minimum things that have to be done or not done and leave the child unthwarted in non-essentials. What these non-essentials are you will have to find for yourself. Before you speak, stop, think, "Is this important?" Speak kindly and firmly and be unafraid. Tell him when he gets ready to scream that only babies do that because they can't talk and make their wants known, that you are willing to listen to what he has to say and help him to do or get what he wants. If his demands are really unreasonable, help him with substitutes that are reasonable. If he makes it impossible for you to speak to him then, choose a time when you are happy together and talk about the way babies behave and the way grown-ups do. It will take some time to get him to feel that you expect four-year-old behavior from him, since it has taken him four years to get that way. Give him many opportunities to accomplish things through his own efforts. Since he behaves like a four-year-old at school, you may find it helpful to spend a few days there in observation of the objective management of the teacher.

In this issue you will find an article "The Meaning and Management of Crying," which may strike you as a solution for your own problem. Before, however, resorting to the method advocated, it would be well to consider some of the possible implications of such a procedure. Your crying child is asserting his power over you. With the method advocated you are asserting your power over him. If he will respond to your power expressed by the administration of "one or, at the most, two spanks," he proves himself a child rather easily managed and therefore not in need of spanking which is and always will be a violation of personality. If, however, he is the kind of child who will need "repeated vigorous spanks," he will no doubt capitulate to your power over him. All that happens in such a situation is the establishment of proof in the child's mind that physical power over another is legitimate and something to look forward to on his own account in the future. It may be a method that we have to resort to with children of low mentality. Since, however, even horse and dog trainers do not use this method, we may be able to do without it, too, in our relation with children handicapped in this way.

There is always the danger of finality in such cut and dried procedures, danger because they shut the door to interest in the study of the causes of individual behavior.

Through my experience with the Child Study Association and other child development agencies, I have come to realize that the goal of all discipline is self-discipline and am very grateful for this fundamental concept. I believe that my children too have come to understand that they will be expected more and more to "boss themselves." Nevertheless, I am the mother of a large family of energetic children who are often thoughtless when they might just as well think, and self-interested when the situation calls for cooperative living. Over and over again I find myself saying to my ten-year-old, "Please hang up your coat," and to my fifteen-year-old, "Please telephone if you're going to be late." They look shamefaced and say they forgot. Would it not be easier for all of us if there was a system of penalties for such forgetting? In short, has punishment any place at all in the intelligent home of today?

The consensus of opinion among most mothers as well as among educators seems to be that punishments for misdeeds—chronic forgetting, deliberate disobedience, etc.—do not really bring the desired results. Children who are generally cooperative, in spirit as well as in letter, seem to be so because of a quality of relationship to one another which pervades the home as a whole. Nevertheless, you will reply, with some justice, that even the best of children are careless and would have no objection whatever to penalties which are understood and accepted as just ahead of time and which are administered in a spirit of sportsmanship. It is fair enough, therefore, to raise the question—Can there be any harm in using them?

My feeling is that if parents know just what they are doing and what they are not doing in punishing children for misdeeds, such measures if administered good humoredly may be harmless enough, even useful as short cuts for getting certain specific things done. Certainly they are often preferable to constant nagging. The important point to keep in mind is that it is not punishments or the absence of them which count most, it is everything else which takes place between parents and children. Punish if you must. You will do no harm if your child believes that you love him, enjoy his society and have a sympathetic concern for his interests and problems. In short, if your relationship to your child is sound and affectionate, the particular procedures you make use of are of minor importance. The danger for most parents in resorting to punishments as a means of control is that they tend to employ them more and more thoughtlessly instead of looking beneath the surface of the child's life and asking why his misdemeanors are so frequent. Only this attitude of steadfast inquiry into causes can be effectual in any fundamental sense. No real maladjustments in human beings have ever been cured by punishments alone.

I have always been glad that my children's school gave them little homework and no formal discipline or drill. But now I begin to see another side of the picture. My eldest has just entered high school and finds herself confronted by a load of work "assignments" which she has not the least idea how to attack. She is intelligent and terribly concerned, but she simply doesn't know how to meet this demand for self-discipline and organization. She feels pretty hopeless about it—and so do I. Is this the inevitable result of modern school discipline—or lack of it? If so, I ought to rescue my two younger children from it before it is too late.

If your daughter has gone to a school which has given her a realistic (if not routinized) approach to subject matter, and a "will to do," the way may not be so difficult as it seems. Learning to organize her work should be presented frankly as a new problem, rather than as something she ought to know but doesn't. Probably she will need some help at first, from you or her father or perhaps an interested teacher—help in allotting her time wisely, in fixing a work schedule and sticking to it, in resisting temptations to be diverted from it. She may need help, too, in finding actual work methods—ways of arranging material, ways of memorizing, recording or high-spotting facts. In one such instance that I know of a cooperative teacher, aware of the problem, hit upon the plan of assigning one of the child's competent classmates to work with her on homework. The results were immensely helpful. By her second term the difficulty had ironed out amazingly.

Whether or not the earlier absence of formal training has netted your child more gain than loss is something you will have to judge not by this one test alone but by her ability to meet other situations and challenges as these present themselves. Lost time in learning to organize is perhaps more easily made up than are the losses which result from courses formal and thorough but culturally empty or wholly unrelated to a child's spontaneous interests.

How can you discipline a big strapping boy of sixteen? We seem to be losing all control of our son. He makes no bones of disregarding our wishes. He comes home from parties at outrageous hours although he understands perfectly that he is not permitted to stay out after twelve. Last week he went to a road-house against our express orders. Is there no way of exacting obedience from a child of this age?

While it is true that a boy of sixteen still needs parental guidance, he is no longer a little child and can hardly be expected to submit to a childish form of discipline. Demands for obedience are perhaps the least effective means of control at this stage. They quite naturally provoke rebellion in a healthy independent adolescent and are only too apt to drive him to extreme behavior in protest against "being bossed." If you can forego your right to command, a young boy will be much more ready to listen to your advice. Try talking over all that is

involved in a friendly way and leaving decisions to him. If you can convince him that you are really open-minded and able to appreciate his side of these questions you may find him more ready to profit by your wisdom and experience. But you must be truly sincere in your readiness to meet him half way. Perhaps if you examine your demands dispassionately you may find that they are not all as necessary as they seem. If late parties are reserved for week-ends, are they really objectionable? If your boy seems to require more sleep than he gets, perhaps you and he together can work out an acceptable plan, more rest before a late party begins or a reasonable restriction of the number of such affairs. Parties begin and end later than they used to and it is hardly fair to ask one youth to stand out against a prevailing social style. And what is at stake in the issue over road-houses? Was this a single excursion provoked by curiosity or the boy's need to prove his independence, or do his friends habitually entertain themselves this way? If so, perhaps all the parents in your community need to work together to provide safer and more desirable forms of entertainment. When adolescents feel that parents understand their needs and desires and are working with them, they are surprisingly cooperative about such joint planning. But we must convince them that we are wise not only in seeing dangers but also in finding solutions.

If, however, you genuinely feel that your loss of control is general and that your boy is really unable to behave properly on his own responsibility, it would seem that much more is wrong than occasional violation of your wishes. If there is a fundamental lack of harmony between you the remedy lies not in being more or less "disciplinary" but in studying the basic causes of your bad relationship and of the boy's personality problems as a whole.

Suggestions for Study: Discipline—What Is It?

TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. The Basis of Discipline
   The child's safety; practical requirements of a household; practical requirements of social living. Relation of discipline to security—the child's need of feeling that his parents are in control and can "save him from himself."

2. Self-Discipline—the Goal
   Acceptance of early routines—their relation to discipline. The child learns to do for himself—how much should parents expect? Growth in responsibility. At what ages should children be responsible for what tasks? Educating for self-discipline: Should children be trained to obey? At what ages? Under what circumstances?

3. Rewards and Punishments
   Are they effective in teaching right and wrong? Their by-products. Spanking: Is it ever necessary? What kind of children? Under what circumstances? Deprivations and bargaining with children. Rewarding for good school performance. Money as a disciplinary device.

4. Responsibilities, Pleasant and Unpleasant
   How do children acquire a feeling of obligation to certain duties? Living with parents and other adults who work conscientiously and with good spirit; some help from parents in doing hard jobs; relating the hard job to something the child spontaneously wants. Conscience—what is it? How is it built?

5. Characteristics of the Disciplined Home
   Understanding of childhood and affection for children; a sense of humor and a sense of proportion; parents who are themselves self-disciplined; parents who can diagnose the causes of misconduct; general spirit of cooperation in all living.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. John is ten. His father feels that he should now be able to keep his room in order, wash himself clean before meals, finish his homework at the proper time, attend to the needs of his dog, wear rubbers in wet weather—and other things without constant reminders. Is John's father correct in his judgment that these are things for which a ten-year-old should take full responsibility?

2. Mrs. B. finds her four-year-old daughter full of "I won'ts." Almost any suggestion made to her meets with a negative response, even if Mrs. B. explains the reasons for her requests and asks politely. What may some of the reasons be for this situation? How would you proceed in order to bring about a happier state of affairs?

REFERENCE READING

Your Child Today and Tomorrow.....1928
by Sidonie M. Gruenberg *J. B. Lippincott & Co.*
Chapter II—The First Great Law
Chapter IV—Punishments and Rewards

Parents' Questions.....1936
Prepared by the staff of the Child Study Association *Harpers*
Chapter III—Discipline and Authority

Parents and the Pre-School Child.....1939
by William E. Blatz and Helen Bott *Morrow*

The Nursery Years.....1936
by Susan Isaacs *Vanguard Press*
Chapter VII—Some Answers to Problems

Our Children in a Changing World.....1937
by Erwin Wexberg and Henry E. Fritsch *Macmillan Co.*

Our Children: A Handbook for Parents.....1932
Edited by Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie M. Gruenberg
Section II—The Child at Home *Viking Press*

Science Contributes

WHAT WE NEED TO KNOW ABOUT TUBERCULOSIS

By HERBERT M. GRUENBERG, M.D.

THE widespread use of tuberculin tests in the schools today has focused interest more sharply on an understanding of the causes and cure of tuberculosis. The management of the tuberculosis problem lies increasingly in preventive measures.

Since tuberculosis is still the leading cause of death from the age of eighteen to thirty-five, it is obvious that preventive efforts should be concentrated on children and adolescents.

Many of the prevalent notions that give the name "tuberculosis" its terrifying connotations, have, in the past few decades, been disproved.

1. Tuberculosis is not an hereditary disease.
2. Tuberculosis need not necessarily be a fatal or permanently disabling disease.
3. Sunshine, except under careful supervision, can be definitely harmful to the tubercular individual.
4. Climate has no special beneficial or harmful effect in the vast majority of cases.

For centuries it was thought that because tuberculosis affected whole families, and in many cases even annihilated them, it was therefore an hereditary disease. What has been shown is that the disease is an infection, and that if children of tubercular parents are removed from their homes until the patient is well, their chances of contracting the disease are no greater than are those in the general population. In other words, it is the intimate contact with a patient, as in a family, which leads to infection.

The death rate from tuberculosis began its fall steadily some years before the discovery of the germ in 1881. There have been several theories advanced for this. The most likely one is that the early decline of the death rate followed closely improvements in standards of living, because of which children receiving adequate fresh air and sunshine were, on the whole, healthier than those who were raised in slums. Tuberculosis is, in general, associated with neglect and poverty. But intimate contact with sufferers from the disease can occur, and does, in wealthy families as well as in poor ones.

When we hear of young children dying of tuberculosis, it almost invariably means that the germs have entered the body repeatedly and in tremendous numbers. In fact, any very young child who has tuberculosis has almost always come into close contact with an "open case"—that is, a person whose disease is in such a form that he is discharging bacilli. When the disease manifests itself in a child of school age it is not always easy to trace the source. However, if a child escapes infection until he reaches school age, the probability is that there is no open tuberculosis at home. When he becomes infected at this age, it is as a rule with only a relatively few germs, so that the reaction is not at all marked. Most often the infection passes off without anybody knowing anything about it. There may be no more alarming symptom than a cold, and the most conscientious examination may fail to reveal the true nature of the trouble. Except in a very few instances, childhood tuberculosis is not a serious disease. The child need be removed from school and home only when the infection is such as to constitute a danger to others. This type of infection is known as the "childhood" or "first-infection" type.

A survey in Massachusetts, extending over the years 1930-1934, showed that forty per cent of 50,000 high-school students had at some time in their lives been infected with the germ of tuberculosis. This included a large rural population. Urban population surveys, such as the one made in Vienna a few years ago, showed that 94 per cent of the children had been infected. In this country the rate in our larger cities is only a little less. In such cases the invading germs were not in sufficient numbers to cause a disease with any serious symptoms; and the region of the infection had become healed. However, when a child has such an experience, a change is brought about in the body, so that if a second infection does occur, in any severe degree, the "adult" or "reinfection" type of tuberculosis is likely to result. It is this "adult" form of the disease which accounts for the still too great mortality from tuberculosis.

Children described as having "low vitality" are frequently considered to be anemic, to have cardiac difficulty, or to be "pre-tubercular." Studies in tuberculosis show that there is no warrant for the use of such terms as "pre-tuberculous," since the disease itself is due to an infection by a particular kind of

germ and these children with lowered resistance can more readily catch any infectious disease with which they come in contact. While it is true that some children are more likely than others to become infected, or to be seriously injured by infection, they are no more "pre-tubercular" than a person with brittle bones is "pre-fracturous."

As to susceptibility, we have no way of knowing in advance from the appearance of the child, or even from his nutritional state, whether he is likely to become infected with tuberculosis. Various studies have been made in this country and abroad. There is some support for the prevalent association of underweight with tuberculosis in a study of school children in California. This showed that although the tuberculous children were consistently underweight, their nutritional condition was not different from that of other children.

Studies in Massachusetts and in Philadelphia have also shown that there is no direct correlation between malnutrition and tuberculous infection. There is, of course, the further question as to how far the nutritional state of the individual child will affect his ability to combat or resist the infection. This question remains to be answered.

We cannot help asking whether the underweight is a result of infection rather than a condition of susceptibility. Certainly a sick child is likely to lose weight. A statistical examination of the records of school children in Dundee leads to the conclusion that the "debilitated" child or one of slight physique is as likely to develop tuberculosis as the robust or "normal" child—but no more so. The problem comes down to one of preventing infection and discovering infection as early as possible.

With the onset of adolescence, especially in girls, the death rate shows a steep rise. The rise for boys does not begin until a few years later. It is in this age-group that we must seek most assiduously for incipient cases, for it is to these cases that we can offer the best chances of cure. Unfortunately, the finding of incipient cases in this age-group is an expensive and tedious process.

There are no early symptoms of tuberculosis. The symptoms described in classical literature and so firmly fixed in the public mind through centuries of tradition—the cough, the emaciated figure, the drenching night-sweats, the spitting of blood—all these are symptoms of far advanced tuberculosis.

How, then, are we to find our cases? Since we cannot afford to wait, we must make preventive surveys.

The first step in the survey is to perform the tuberculin test. The procedure for this is much the same as that for the Schick test, with which every parent today is familiar. However, there is now under way research that promises to obviate the need for injections, by applying the test material directly to the skin in what is known as a "patch test." Formerly, when crude methods were employed, there were often serious reactions. Today, properly performed, the test is without danger. When the results of the test are read, we can tell which children have been, at some point in their lives, infected with the bacillus of tuberculosis. It tells us nothing about the severity or about the present activity of the disease. It means only that at some earlier time the germ of tuberculosis has entered the body. We can dismiss from our survey all those children who show a negative reaction (about sixty per cent in the high-school group referred to above).

Those forty in a hundred who react to the test must have x-ray examinations of their chests. Of this group, about ninety-five per cent (that is, thirty-eight per cent of all the children) will show inactive, healed tuberculosis. The rest, or two per cent of an apparently well group of high-school students, will be found to have active disease in need of treatment. Numerous surveys similar to the one described have been carried out in various parts of the country with essentially similar results.

An interesting survey is being made at present in Queens County, New York. As many children as possible are to receive x-ray examinations periodically. After a period of some years an attempt will be made to prognosticate whether or not tuberculosis will develop in a person presenting one or another type of picture.

Now what can be done for those children who live where no survey is going on that will include them? Every child should, on general principles, have periodic examinations by a physician. This is so obvious that it needs no further explanation. Increasingly there is a trend among authorities to recommend that once a year, from the time a child starts school until he is through the college age, he should have a tuberculin test. If this be positive, an x-ray of the chest should be taken periodically. The changes in the chest of early tuberculosis are so subtle that even the best physical examination, and even fluoroscopy, will fail to reveal their presence.

As an added precaution, everyone who comes into contact with a child should be periodically examined

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Annual Meeting of the Child Study Association

ON MONDAY evening, November 15, the Annual Meeting of the Child Study Association of America was held at its Headquarters. In the absence of the president, Mrs. Everett Dean Martin, Mr. Frank E. Karelsen, chairman of the Board of Directors, presided and introduced Dr. W. Carson Ryan, Jr., as chairman for the evening.

In his introductory remarks Dr. Ryan said:

Among all the organizations engaged in educational work that I have had a chance to observe, the Child Study Association seems to me remarkable in two ways: (1) It has consistently avoided the characteristic American temptation of striving for mere bigness, or of measuring results by mere size; and (2) it has succeeded in keeping young through all the long years of its activity.

Someone has said that every institution should be destroyed at the end of 25 years. We can see the reason for this, since every organization tends to become static, fixing its program and its ideals on what may have been perfectly sound considerations at the start, but coming inevitably to be more and more out of step with actual conditions as these change.

On my first visit to the Child Study Association offices I got the feeling that this is what a university should be. People came with all sorts of problems. Instead of being advised to take this or that course, or to sign up for a series of courses that would in three or four years bring them to the elements of their problems, they were at once put in touch with specialists, with books, or with direct advice, according to their needs. It was a source of service such as modern science and an assemblage of authorities should presumably be able to offer.

In the field of teacher training, where much confusion exists today, an agency like the Child Study Association can make immeasurable contributions. It could assist in teacher training projects through the actual contact it offers with the problems of family life. It could humanize the educational process in terms of what the community is actually doing and of what the current problems are.

The Child Study Association has continued to be interested in the basic human needs which were its chief concern at its inception, while keeping constantly abreast of new developments in science and of changing social conditions. It is, from my observation, an exceptional combination of the philosophical spirit making use of whatever science can teach us.

Mrs. Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, Director of the Association, then gave the following report:

ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1937

The work of this Association started forty-nine years ago with a study group which called itself the Society for the Study of Child Nature. To report that in forty-nine years the original society has become bigger and better would be true enough; but confronted with our fiftieth year, which is supposed in some mystic way to be especially significant, we are challenged to justify ourselves with something that transcends mere arithmetic. Moreover, if any of the original study group members should look in on the work of the Child Study Association today they would not recognize it as an enlargement of what they had started, for our interests and preoccupations have branched out in many different directions.

Study Groups

Study groups, consisting of live people concerned with live children, are nevertheless still the heart of the Association. But the greater number of groups or larger enrollments are not our special boast today. We point rather to the fact that these study groups, while they probably serve their members better than ever, are coming more and more to be demonstrations in parent education, and are being increasingly so used by universities and other training institutions, by social workers, and by leaders in parent education. In developing supplementary aids for our study group members, through the library and through our committees, we have furnished a service to thousands of individuals and groups and institutions in all parts of the country, and even in foreign countries.

Through the years study groups have been set up from time to time to meet special needs. The most distinctive of our present groups is perhaps the one announced as "Introduction to Parenthood," consisting of expectant mothers. The interest of the group is not in the medical aspects of maternity, but in the psychological and practical ones, and the discussions concern not only the expectant mother but the expectant father and grandparents also. Visits to maternity centers satisfy normal curiosity, furnish needed information, and alleviate anxieties.

A recent trend which seems significant is the expansion of groups for mothers of young children. Five years ago the group discussing adolescence had the largest enrollment. Of over 300 registered in study groups in the past year, almost half were in the groups concerned with children under six years of age. This may mean that parents no longer wait, as formerly, until they are in difficulties with the school, or with some intra-familial situation; these mothers come, for the most part, because they are aware of their own educational need.

It is not so easy to account for the shrinkage in the adolescence groups. Several explanations have been offered, but none is satisfactory. Are the parents of adolescents no longer alarmed by flaming youth? Is youth less flaming than it was formerly? Are parents better trained? Or more complacent? Or are other problems more pressing?

A new departure in the past year was the organization, by request, of a special group of representatives from the Queensboro Federation of Mothers' Clubs. Fifty representatives of local public schools in the Borough of Queens, New York City, met weekly in the interest of obtaining material for promoting child study work in their respective communities. The attendance record of this group was one hundred per cent and the interest was keen; plans are under way for follow-up and continued work this coming season. Incidentally, this high rate of attendance is also characteristic of study groups at our Headquarters.

In addition to leading these Headquarters groups, members of the Association's staff also conducted a number of regular groups outside of Headquarters, as well as specially arranged courses at public and private schools and community centers, at New York University, Temple University, five state institutions in Colorado, the New York School of Social Work, and a course for WPA Nursery School Workers. In addition, the Speakers Bureau arranged or 62 individual talks by staff members and others.

Family Guidance and Consultation Service

Our Family Guidance and Consultation Service is now starting on its tenth year, having served 792 families. The part-time psychiatrist and the psychiatric social worker, constituting the technical staff, have worked together since its inception, avoiding the turnover so frequent in most guidance agencies. Parents returning to report progress or to seek further counsel therefore feel no break in the continuity of the experience they have had. It has always been the policy of the Service to keep in touch with parents who have come for help. This has not been possible in all cases because of lack of funds to provide for the very considerable amount of time and recording required.

We have, however, become much interested in making a thorough study of the developments which have taken place in some sixty families that have received intensive service over the years. The essential purpose of such a study would be to organize information and interpretive material on normal family development, particularly in connection with the following aspects: the emancipation of parents from the ideas and attitudes of their own parents; the process by which greater emotional harmony in marriage is achieved; the use of leisure time, particularly that of the mother of the family; changes in the mother's relation to her various children; health history; friendships; the effect on family life of money problems; mother's work outside of the home; work inside of the home; weaning of parents from their children as well as emancipation of the children.

Lectures and Special Courses

Each year the Association has arranged for its members a number of afternoon lectures, and one or two evening lectures. For the past two years we have also had a special morning course on some aspect of family relationships. Last year the course was entitled "Marriage Today." This year's course is on "Woman Today—Her Relation to Herself and to Her Time." These courses have, in the main, been attracting intelligent mature women who have both a personal and an intellectual interest in woman and her functions in present-day society.

Summer Play Schools Committee

Although the Summer Play Schools organization is known as a "committee," it is really one of our major projects and has a staff and a budget of its own. The Summer Play Schools, which started out twenty-one years ago to serve the urgent needs of underprivileged city-bound children, have received wide recognition both for their actual services in the health-care and personality development of children, and for their demonstration of the effective coordination of various community agencies and resources in a common enterprise. Perhaps the most distinctive developments are to be seen in the increasing use of the Play Schools both as centers for the training of teachers, and as centers for parent education.

The Summer Play Schools Committee now con-

ducts two demonstration centers which are used extensively for the training of teachers—the Manhattanville Play School, in charge of a specially selected and trained staff, and another center conducted in cooperation with the Department of Education of New York University. Hundreds of teachers from various parts of the country have been absorbing the point of view, the inspiration, and the technical training afforded by these centers.

Sixteen discussion groups of parents of Summer Play School children were led by staff members throughout the season. About two hundred parents attended. The outstanding recent achievement in the parent-education aspect of the Play School program is the introduction of the work into the WPA groups and the training of leaders for educational activities among the economic classes represented in these groups. Specially assigned students from the large universities in New York City have been given training in parent-education work in the Play Schools.

Another interesting phase of the work is the assistance given by the staff to community workers in individual Play Schools who come for consultation regarding the implications of parent-education in the work of the home visitor.

In celebration of the Twenty-First Anniversary of the Summer Play Schools a dinner was held at the Hotel Commodore on October 27. It was, in a sense, a testimonial occasion, honoring the Play Schools Committee and especially Mrs. Fred M. Stein, its chairman since its inception. The dinner was sponsored by a committee under the inspired chairmanship of our Honorary President, Mrs. Howard S. Gans, and a magnificent surprise feature was a gift of money and pledges amounting to almost $30,000 toward the work of the Play Schools for three years. This gift was contributed by friends of the Play Schools through the efforts of Mrs. Walter Hirsch and Mrs. David Levy.

Other Committees

A distinctive phase of the Association's work in parent-education is the participation of members in the activities of the various committees, in which experts and lay workers cooperate on special projects or continuing services. The work of the Bibliography Committee has been growing in volume and in importance with the ever-widening stream of literature on child training, education and family relationships. Mrs. Brian P. Leeb, for many years its chairman, is now working on a special project of the Bibliography Committee, while the chairmanship of the Committee has been taken over by Mrs. Howard L. Auerbach. During the past year the committee reviewed over 250 books.

An important outgrowth of this committee's activities is a new Pamphlet Committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. George Van Trump Burgess. Several members of this committee are at work on a new pamphlet on the perennial problem of "Discipline."

During the past year the Children's Book Committee, composed of twenty members under the chairmanship of Mrs. Hugh Grant Straus, completed two comprehensive booklists, one for children up to nine years of age, the other for boys and girls of nine and over. These lists, comprising approximately 2,500 titles, are included in a volume recently published by Doubleday Doran & Company, which will be mentioned more specifically in the report on publications.

Other active committees of the Association are: The Schools Committee, with Mrs. Bess B. Lane as chairman; the CHILD STUDY Magazine Committee, of which Mrs. Dorothy Ducas Herzog is chairman; the Radio Committee, with Mrs. John Churchill as chairman; the Consultation Service Committee, under the joint chairmanship of Mrs. Richard Emmet and Mrs. Udo Reinach; and the Committee on Exhibits, with Mrs. Simon M. Goldsmith as chairman.

Although these committees do not all hold regular meetings, they are all active and their work represents both a substantial contribution to the major purposes of the Association and excellent cooperative education for the members—for the professional perhaps quite as much as for the lay members, since from the exchange of thought and experience arises a valuable synthesis of the theoretical and practical.

The enumeration of group registration and committees can give no picture of what is actually going on at Headquarters day by day. During the busy fall and winter months especially, there is a constant stream of individual visitors equal in number to the regular attendance at classes or study groups, making a total of four to five hundred persons a week who come to get individual help, to sit in at meetings or conferences, to use the libraty, and so on.

Requests for assistance, service, information or advice come from widely different sources, with an amazing variety of purposes. To mention only a few: A "blood and thunder" radio program, which has drawn fire from indignant parents, requests the Association's assistance in bringing its program into conformity with sound psychological and educational principles without losing its entertainment value.

A mother who is suddenly compelled to go abroad on business asks us to find a home for her five-year-old boy while she is away.

A companion is wanted for a boy who has to live in Arizona.

A life insurance company asks us to supply the mental hygiene aspects of play and health for an educational advertising leaflet.

The adult education department of a university asks for assistance in planning a course for children's nurses.

A welfare organization wants the latest information on the problems that arise in families in connection with the adoption of children.

Publications

CHILD STUDY, our monthly magazine, continues on its way. In a very real sense the magazine is a group project, sponsored by the efforts of the entire professional staff and drawing upon every aspect of our headquarters set-up for its inspiration and content. Even for those of the staff who have watched it grow from its modest beginning as a threefold "bulletin" to its present dignity and prestige, each issue remains a real adventure. CHILD STUDY now has a new dress, and the three new departments reported on last year have continued to add interest—Science Contributes, Readers' Slants, and Shop Talk. Basically, our magazine owes its quality and usefulness to the fact that many persons of the highest standing in their professions contribute to it freely and generously. Our staff and our readers are immeasurably indebted to these contributors, who not only write for us but write to order on a given topic from a specified angle. The willingness and generosity of the response to our editorial requests has been a source of unending encouragement to the editorial staff. Among last year's well-known contributors were Dorothy Thompson, Floyd Dell, Clifton Fadiman, Beatrice Hinkle, Carson Ryan, Douglas Thom, Justine Wise Tulin.

Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia is arranging to use the magazine as a premium.

The publication on October 22 of *What Books for Children?* by Josette Frank, of our staff, adds another to the growing list of Association books—this book can really be called a Child Study publication since it is the outgrowth of Miss Frank's work of many years with the Children's Book Committee, and the lists to which half of the book is devoted were prepared by that committee, as previously mentioned. Advance sales of almost 700 copies were announced by the publisher.

In its second year, *Parents' Questions* has sold over 2,000 copies, making the total sold over 6,000, and it continues to be our most popular book publication. *Our Children,* a $3.00 book published in the depths of the depression, still sells, but, of course, the main sale is over. We are planning to have it issued in a special low-priced edition in the hope that this may give the book a still wider distribution.

The only new pamphlet which was issued this past year is called "Will Your Child Be Ready for School?" The purchase of several thousand copies by Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia to be given to its clients, facilitated the financing of this pamphlet.

Alice Morgenthau Ehrich Memorial Library

Library reports indicate increased activity during the past year. In addition to the reading room circulation and bibliographical services, the library sends out packets of books for the season's study to affiliated groups in outlying districts. It also prepares for CHILD STUDY a monthly page of extracts and abstracts from various current publications.

Cooperation with Other Organizations

Members of the staff have cooperated actively with many organizations and agencies, as in arranging conferences, working on committees, acting on advisory boards, writing articles, preparing study outlines and bibliographies, and rendering other specific services too numerous to mention, to about 300 groups in all. I should like to mention specifically two or three of the projects:

In cooperation with the New York Kindergarten Association we worked on a joint committee urging legislative changes in New York State to include four-year-old children in the public school set-up.

For the American Home Department of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Association headed up a committee of educators to prepare an outline and bibliography for group study. This is published in a booklet for distribution to women's clubs throughout the country.

At the invitation of the board of Irvington House, a home for cardiac children, several members of the staff of the Child Study Association visited the home to see how far modern principles of education are applied in the daily lives of the children who are there for protracted periods.

Membership and Finance Department

The Membership Department, which had for the past few years been running more or less on its mo-

mentum, was given fresh impetus in April by the addition to the staff of a Membership Secretary. Various new plans for increasing membership have been worked out and put into action during the intervening six months. A series of teas for Study Group members are being given at the homes of several members of the Board. Out of the first of these developed a large study group in Westchester; and one is in process of organization on Long Island.

The Membership Secretary has called on a number of New York City pediatricians, all of whom have expressed great interest in the work and have agreed to make it known to persons for whom they feel it will have interest and value. Several new and valuable additions have been made to the mailing lists of the Association. The Membership Committee is being enlarged with a special view to including representatives from suburban groups as well as from various sections of New York City. At the present time we have more than twice as many new members as we had at the same time in either of the previous two years.

As we go forward into the fiftieth year of the Association's life, we are resolved to carry on with undiminished enthusiasm and with all the vigor we can muster. We can see clearly the needs that are to be met, and the lines of work that promise to be most productive. Yet we have to ask ourselves just how we can make our efforts of greatest value to those who come through our doors, and also serve other agencies and groups that are increasingly concerned with family relationships.

As the interest in the family grows on the part of teacher training establishments, of public health institutions and social welfare agencies, we have to integrate our program more and more with other social processes. In planning this fiftieth year we will call upon our friends and advisors to help us consolidate all available resources, material and spiritual, so as to make our work as effective as possible.

Readers' Slants

The following little sermon to children was sent to us by a member who heard it at a service at the old Congregational Church in York Village, Maine, in which they tried to represent the atmosphere of a service of the early 18th century. Among other things, the pastor read a children's sermon delivered first by the Rev. Moody in 1721. We thought these excerpts from it might be interesting as a commentary on an early effort at child study.

A SERMON

"AND he* took a child, and set him in the midst of them: and when he had taken him in his arms, he said unto them, Whosoever shall receive one of such children in my name, receiveth me; and whosoever shall receive me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me."

A great deal might be said from this text, that concerns *parents* and other grown persons: but I shall only take notice of that which concerns *children*. Note here, (1) The Lord Jesus *observes* little children: he takes notice of them, and has his eyes always upon them. (2) He has a great *love* for *good* children. The child spoken of in the text was doubtless a good child. DOCTRINE: "Christ taketh notice of little children, and loves them dearly, if they be good children."

* Spelling throughout follows the original text.

First Proposition: "Jesus Christ takes notice of all little children." He observed you before you came hither, and as you were in coming: and he takes notice of you now while you are here. If any of you are *weary,* and want to be gone home, or to get out to play, Christ observes it. He minds who are *affected* with the sermon, and who are not; who they are that are careless, and do not mind what is said, and especially if any are so wicked as to *play,* while they should be hearing. He takes notice how you behave yourselves *at home:* whether you are dutiful to your parents, and loving to your brothers and sisters; or whether you be disobedient and fretful, rude, or quarrelsome. He minds what you say or do when you are *abroad,* and as you are going to *school.* He sees how you spend the *Saturday evening,* whether you are willing to say your catechism; and on *Sabbath morning,* how you spend your time, whether you get alone, and read, and think, and pray; or are idle and do nothing, or play, which is worse; and what you do *all day.*

First, "Because he is everywhere present." Children, I see you now sitting before me: your parents that are at home do not see you: but Christ sees you *always;* for he is *everywhere.* The angels cannot be everywhere; they cannot be in two places at once; but Christ can. He knows your *thoughts.* He knew a

thousand years ago what you would be thinking of now. He knew how many times you would wish in your hearts, O, that God's Spirit would help the minister in preaching! O, that I might get some good today! and the like. And he sets down your thoughts in his book. He knows all the *words* you speak, good and bad; and from what *heart* they come.

Secondly, "Little children are committed to him to keep"; and therefore he takes notice of them. In some places there is a shepherd appointed to *keep* the sheep. Christ is the *good shepherd*. Your godly parents are the *sheep*, and you are the *lambs*. The devil is the *wolf* that goes to carry you away by his temptations; but if you love Christ, he will watch over you, to keep you from Satan's temptations.

Thirdly, If Christ did not take notice of little children, how would he judge them at the last day, as he must do? How could he sentence wicked children to hell, and good children to heaven, if he had not taken notice of them all along their lives?

The second proposition is that Christ "loves good children dearly."

Question: "Who are good children?"

Answer: These are some of the *marks* of good children: They are afraid to sin *alone* and in the *dark*, as much as if everybody were looking upon them. Such are careful what they *speak*, and what they *think*. Good children are glad when *Sabbath* comes, that they may go to meeting and hear God's word. They never dare to disobey or mutter at their *parents*, even though they forbear to correct them for it. They *fear* God, who will punish wicked children in hell. They think about their *souls* when they are alone, and are afraid sometimes that they have no grace; they think their hearts are so wicked that there cannot be any grace there. They are *sorry* for their *sins;* sorry that they have offended God and Christ, and grieved the Holy Spirit. They love to *think* about Jesus Christ.

Use first. If Christ loves good children, then surely he hates wicked children. Poor wicked child, dost thou think that Jesus Christ loves *thee!* No, he hates the wicked. And if you live and die wicked, you will find at last that he hates you, as bad as he does the *devil*. You serve the *devil;* you do as *he* bids you; you are *his* child, and Christ is angry with you for doing *his works*. He may send *Indians* to kill you. He threatens to kill wicked children with death. As the wolf comes and catches and carries away the lambs, so God may send the Indians to carry you away. You may be carried away by Indians, and die in the woods; and "the ravens of the valley may pick out your eyes, and the young eagles may eat them." So it was with a child at Cape-Neddick (easterly part of the town), and so it may be again.

Use second. If the *worst* children that are will *leave* their *wicked* ways and become *good* children, then Christ will *love* them. He will forget and forgive all their sins. Tho' *they* remember their sins and bemoan themselves, yet *he* will forget and forgive. He will say, "It is my dear child, I will surely have mercy on him." This I tell you to encourage you. Though you have been wicked, yet if you return to him he will receive you into the arms of his love.

Use third, of caution. *It is dangerous* delaying *to become good children*. If you put it off one fortnight, or one day longer, God may cut you off, or give you up; and hear none of your cries, when you come to be in distress. There was a little boy at Hampton that was at play with the children, and he told them they must be good children, because if they were not good *now* they were *children* they might *never* be good; for they might never live to grow up. And within a few days after *he* died.

Use fourth for encouragement.—"Though it be a very hard thing to be good children, yet Christ can make it easy, and he will do so." Wisdom's ways are ways of *pleasantness*, and all her paths are *peace*. Christ has said, "I love those that love me: and they that seek me early shall find me." You will say, I find more comfort in reading, praying and thinking about Christ than ever I did in playing and sinning. The service of Christ is more pleasant, even for the present, than the service of the devil. And it is *easier* to turn to God *now* than it will be when you are grown older. The longer you live in sin, the harder your hearts will grow, and the less mind you will have to repent. You must come to Christ *directly*, or it may be too late forever. If your parents see you begin to be concerned, and to seek God, they will pray for you, and encourage you. And *good children* will be helpful to you. A little boy, not above *four* years old, was found teaching his sister what he knew about God, and Christ, and heavenly things. *You* are older than that, therefore it is *high time* for you to seek the Lord.

But for your *terror*, let me tell you, that if you do not *speedily turn to the Lord*, it will not be long before you will be burning and roaring in *hell:* Then you will think of what you now hear, and will think of it forever. Christ is *angry with you every day*. Can you bear to go to hell? Your hearts are harder than iron, if you can think of it without trembling. I am persuaded some of you will be gone forever in a few weeks, if you are not converted. Some of you, I am afraid, are grown *dead ripe in sin already:* And

when you come to stand before the *judgment seat* of Christ, I will witness against you; and your parents will witness against you. And what will you do, when you come to be *bound hand and foot,* and flung into the mouth of the burning bottomless pit? You will cry out, O, I cannot go down there! but go you must, and lie there forever.

Use last—of comfort to *good children;* and to wicked children, too, that will now begin to be good. Some of you have good parents now in heaven: And if you are good, Christ *loves* you, and will send his blessed angels to look after you. When Christ *comes* again, and that will be *quickly,* then he will *own* you before all the world and tell of your love to him, and of all your good thoughts, your good words and deeds: and when the world is set all on a light-fire (as the Bible tells us it shall be at Christ's coming), he shall take *you* up to *be with him,* and with the good angels, and with your good parents, and with all good people, forever and ever. Amen.

Book Reviews

Feeding Behavior of Infants. By Arnold Gesell, M.D., and Frances L. Ilg, M.D. Lippincott, 1937.

Dr. Gesell and his associates at the Yale Clinic have long been known for their outstanding contributions to our knowledge of child development. Their most recent investigation into the feeding behavior of infants stresses the psychological factors inherent in the feeding situation. Their findings challenge many procedures still widely accepted in pediatric practice and should have far-reaching effects in this field.

The study presents a wealth of detailed information on typical development and individual deviations. Two outstanding truths emerge: First, that the child's neuro-muscular maturity at any given time plays a large part in determining his willingness and ability to conform with our plans for his feeding; second, that from earliest infancy there are marked individual differences in the normal rhythms of eating, sleeping and elimination which should not be ignored in the interest of convenience or pre-conceived theory.

Whether it be so simple a matter as learning to chew and swallow food of a new consistency, or so complicated a procedure as learning to inhibit or release the excretory processes, the child's ability to deal with the situation depends to no small degree on the state of his neuro-muscular development. Much of the behavior which parents generally consider naughty or unfortunate is merely a sign of maturing powers. The baby who dabbles in his food is getting ready to feed himself. The runabout who shows great interest in his "puddles" is on the road to bladder control. Management which ignores this factor of readiness is wasteful of time and energy and the cause of unfortunate strains and conflicts between parent and child. Yet child-training literature, and in many cases pediatric practice, still abounds in advice on feeding and weaning and habit training which practically ignores this problem of readiness within the child.

Even less attention is ordinarily paid to the child's individual rhythm of demand for food and rest. The modern fetish of regularity and routine has demanded that all babies be adjusted to a predetermined and practically inflexible feeding schedule. Yet as this study points out, by no means all infants fit easily into these patterns. There would be great gain, the investigators feel, in following the lead of the individual infant, allowing him considerable leeway for variation in times and intervals of feeding, in the amounts consumed at different meals, and, as he grows older and meets new foods, in the types accepted at any given time. Their own experiments have convinced the authors that this is entirely practical from the health standpoint, under competent medical guidance, and that the early inconvenience is offset by the added security and stability which such handling produces.

Dr. Gesell has worked out an interesting scheme for supervising and guiding the mother while encouraging her to pursue what he calls "the seek and find method" of establishing the child's routine. And as he points out, the parent reveals much of the child's personality and her own in reporting her detailed experience with this experimental approach, thus affording the physician an excellent opportunity for guidance in general management and parent child relationships, as well as in strictly nutritional matters.

There are certain points at which one might take exception to the views of the authors, as for example, when they seem to underestimate the deep-seated emotional factors in weaning difficulties or in the child's reversion to outgrown needs after the birth of a new baby. But the major emphasis of the study is excellent and it should do much to correct the present overemphasis on habit training and routine.

HELEN G. STERNAU.

Two to Six—Suggestions for Parents and Teachers of Young Children. By Rose H. Alschuler and Associates. Revised edition. William Morrow and Company, 1937.

This small book in its second edition is strongly recommended to all those who are in active contact with children of these ages. It possesses the rare virtues of being at once brief, sound in its understanding and practical in its advice. Its chapter on habits summarizes briefly what all parents want to know—the approximate ages at which it is fair to have certain expectations of children. Junior is three. Should he dress himself? Should he have a dry bed at night? Should he take the responsibility for putting away his toys? The author understands the value of routine and simple training for young children but she does not make the almost universal mistake of thinking that the heavens fall if exceptions are made or that character is formed in any such mechanistic manner. This second edition shows a growing conviction that "the establishing of good habits is not nearly so important as is the establishment of a sound relationship . . . ," and this attitude is reflected in the advice she gives.

Most of the book is devoted to chapters on Books (containing an excellent list with descriptive blurbs), Music, Play Materials, About Nature and Pets, and Excursions. There is also a bibliography for parents. All these chapters have been brought up to date and retain the very concrete and practical quality which also characterized the earlier edition.

ANNA W. M. WOLF.

Play in Childhood. By Margaret Lowenfeld. Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1935.

Miss Lowenfeld, who is psychological director of the London Institute of Child Psychology, has presented the world with a study of play in children which ranks almost at the top of the list of such studies made in recent years. It has meat in it for the educator, the social worker, the psychiatrist, for anyone working with children. It is comprehensive, dealing with every facet of play: as bodily activity, as relaxation, as repetition of experience, as fantasy, as realization of environment, as externalization of emotional experience, as preparation for life. There is a brilliant chapter on the comic element in play and an excellent summary of the needs and problems of children who cannot play.

The book is based on experience with play therapy at the Institute. Children came there from all classes of English society but mainly from the elementary schools. They included some children suffering from disturbances of the emotional life, others suffering from chronic disorders, many who were unable to adjust themselves socially, and still others manifesting educational difficulties.

These children were put into play groups and exposed to specially selected play materials: fantasy material—water and water toys, earth, sand, dough, etc.; construction material—"worlds" mosaics, trains and materials for painting and acting; miniature adult material—dolls' houses, shops, brooms, cooking utensils; materials giving scope for movement and destruction—grinding and mincing, cutting and piercing instruments, skittles, rubber balls and darts. Accurate records were kept of each child's play, with verbatim notes wherever possible, and pictures of objects made and of all drawings and paintings.

In the course of play, aggression, hostility problems and conflicts were worked out. As the environmental patterns were elaborated through dramatization, social problems and conflicts were expressed. The workers in the laboratory watched the use of materials and drew their conclusions from the accumulated records. The children themselves often gained insight into their problems through such play.

Miss Lowenfeld suggests that: "The forces of destruction, aggression, and hostile emotion, which form so powerful an element for good or evil in human character, can display themselves fully in the play of childhood and become through this expression integrated into the controlled and conscious personality. Forces unrealized in childhood remain as an inner drive forever seeking outlet, and lead men to express them not any longer in play, since this is regarded as an activity of childhood, but in industrial anarchy and war."

These deductions from the observation of the play of problem children are worthy of deep consideration. Many who are not so close to the clinical evidence, but who have guided children in school and home situations see too that the play technique cannot be taken for granted but must be fostered and given scope. Our children know less and less how to use the fundamentals of play to release themselves from the verbal pressures with which they are surrounded. We as adults have given them more and more amusement but less and less play. One cannot put this book away without thinking seriously on the problem and wondering how homes and schools can modify their practices to make more satisfactory provision for meeting the play needs of children.

CLARA LAMBERT.

News and Notes

To Fight Infantile Paralysis

A most heartening and important recent development in the field of public health and research has been the formation of the new national Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, created by President Roosevelt to unify the fight on this disease. In the absence of a demonstrated preventive or cure of the frightening sickness which attacks children without warning in almost every part of the country, the founding of a permanent organization to finance research and give emergency relief to sufferers will be welcomed by parents.

It is the plan of the Committee for the Celebration of the President's Birthday to put all the funds raised on January 29, 1938, by benefit balls, theatrical performances, card parties, sports events, and $1 a year memberships into one treasury, to finance four kinds of immediate action throughout the United States:

First: To spur on, intensify, and coordinate scientific research, so that an immunization, a serum or an inoculation may be found, as it has been for typhoid, diphtheria, and scarlet fever.

Second: To give epidemic first aid wherever it is needed, by bringing to local health officers any serums or other aids made available by investigations; by rushing orthopedic supplies such as iron lungs; by handing over knowledge of diagnosis and care during the acute stage to physicians everywhere as soon as possible.

Third: To provide proper care through disseminating to physicians and parents present and new knowledge of ways possible to prevent *after*-effects such as crooked backs and contracted limbs.

Fourth: To equip orthopedic centers, hospitals and clinics so that they may be mechanically able to combat human wreckage.

The most dramatic feature of the situation, from the point of view of the layman, is the bringing to all communities of those facilities which might enable future polio victims to lessen their disabilities, since it has been definitely established at such centers as Warm Springs that a great many paralyzed limbs and twisted bodies can be avoided, if early diagnosis, proper nursing and scientific after-care are made available to all sufferers. The plan of this new foundation will insure the rapid spread of the latest knowledge and equipment in this field.

Motion Pictures in Education

A grant of $135,000 from the General Education Board for the three-year support of the activities of the Committee on Motion Pictures in Education was announced recently in Washington by George F. Zook, president of the American Council on Education. With this grant a clearing house of information and activity on visual problems, as they relate to general education, will be established under the direction of Charles F. Hoban, Jr., associate in motion picture education.

The American Council on Education, with the financial support of the Payne Fund and the General Education Board, has carried on a number of activities in this area during the past several years. One of the undertakings was a survey of the audi-visual equipment owned by elementary and secondary schools of the country. The project has also cooperated in the collection of film catalogs, and in exploratory studies of various subjects to determine the needed films, the methods of distributing motion pictures, and their actual use in schools and adult programs.

Social Hygiene Day

The American Social Hygiene Association is planning for the second National Social Hygiene Day, to be observed throughout the country on February 2, 1938, and to take for its theme, "stamp out syphilis—enemy of youth."

In a recent address, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of The American Social Hygiene Association and vice-chairman of the Association's National Anti-Syphilis Committee, declared that "syphilis and gonorrhea are among the greatest menaces to the boys and girls of the United States." Each year over half a million new cases of syphilis come for treatment to physicians and clinics in the United States. Of this number, one in every five is found among young people under twenty years of age.

Social Hygiene Day, it is hoped, will stimulate communities to advance the fight against syphilis and gonorrhea and the conditions which favor their spread, by focusing the public's attention on these enemies of youth and by supporting the efforts of health departments to combat them. Parents, youth leaders and all individuals and organizations whose primary concern is with the well-being of the nation's boys and girls are being urged to join in its observance.

In the Magazines

How the Family Regards Money. By John R. Scotford. International Journal of Religious Education, December, 1937.

It is important for parents to understand what their attitude is toward money. There are dangers for the developing personality when money is overstressed in the life of the family. Activities of the family should not be measured in terms of money but in real values. The self-respect of the child should not depend upon the financial status of the family. Children learn to know their parents' attitudes by observing how money is spent in the family. Only by actual experience in spending their own allowances can they develop wisdom in spending.

If a Child Is Jealous. By Alice D. Shearston. Parents' Magazine, December, 1937.

Questions for parents to ask themselves to prevent or aid in overcoming the jealousy of an older child upon the arrival of the new baby. Helpful on a practical level despite its tacit implication that good management can eliminate the problem.

Why the Modern Nursery School? By Martha May Reynolds. Baby Talk, November, 1937.

Many important things, including basic habits and the ability to get along with other people, are learned in the early years of a child's life. This is the reason for nursery schools. Mothers are urged to look into the special training and experience of all those who teach young children, and to consider the provisions for health inspection that the nursery school offers.

How Much Homework? By Carleton Washburne. Parents' Magazine, November, 1937.

Discusses not only the desirable amount of homework but also when it should be given and what type it should be. Assignments should consist of work which can be done better at home than at school, and which will contribute to family unity rather than serve as a source of irritation. Because schools sometimes fail to adapt school work to the child's stage of development and do not aid him in realizing its functional meaning, there is a tendency to pass the responsibility of lesson studying on to the home.

Shall Marriage Be Subsidized? By Genevieve Parkhurst. Harper's Magazine, November, 1937.

Discusses the problem of bringing marriage within reach for more young people. Some answers to this problem are appraised. In seeking a solution, parents and society must take a different attitude toward their responsibility for the marriage of young people under the changed economic and social conditions of the world today.

Prepare Them for Marriage. By Roy E. Dickerson. Parents' Magazine, December, 1937.

Parents are urged to teach their adolescents something of the social and individual functions of marriage and to help them toward an understanding of the rôle of sex in married life. This is the best means of safeguarding them from dealing with sex merely in terms of temporary physical thrills. Without demeaning the physical factors in sex we can make clear that the fullest sex satisfaction includes psychic intimacy.

What the Preparatory School May Expect of the Home. By W. R. Seagrove. What Parent and Teacher May Expect of the Child Guidance Clinic. By M. S. M. Fordham. What the Parent and School May Expect of Vocational Guidance. By Martin Dawson. The New Era in Home and School, September-October, 1937.

Three related articles by English specialists—a headmaster, a psychiatrist and a vocational psychologist. The headmaster points out the importance of a child's security in determining his ability to adjust to the school. Boys at school are living in two worlds and the understanding of the parent is needed to build a bridge between them.

The psychiatrist gives illustrations of the problems dealt with in the child guidance clinic and shows that defective parent-child relationships are generally at the core of them. The outcome of treatment depends largely on the alteration that can be made in this relationship.

The vocational psychologist describes and evaluates an investigation which was primarily concerned with the emotional factors in vocational guidance, concluding that a boy or girl with average mental ability and good emotional health is more likely to achieve success than the clever but unstable child.

THE MEANING AND MANAGEMENT OF CRYING

(Continued from page 107)

should be eliminated in children as soon as practicable. Such ambiguous treatment can scarcely fail to conduce to the development of uncertainty and conflicts.

In our experience we have found it advisable to recommend quite a different procedure. It is our belief that crying is one of the relatively few justifications for spanking a child, but we are insistent upon the rule that spanking for this offense be administered so that it will in fact stop the crying, not aggravate it. If a child who is crying unjustifiably is told to stop and does not, we advise that he be warned that if he does not cease (while the adult counts slowly to five) he will be spanked. Failing compliance with this warning, the child should be given one or at the most two "spanks," and again told to stop. If the child does not stop, the same procedure should be repeated. If the "spanks" are sufficiently vigorous (paddy-whacks are worse than nothing), two or three repetitions of this procedure will usually suffice to stop not only ordinary crying but also the most impressive tantrums; and it is necessary to resort to this formula on a surprisingly small number of occasions in order to eliminate unjustifiable crying altogether.

We have had the opportunity to observe a number of children with whom this method has been used with very gratifying results. Children who seem prepared for an endless struggle become calm within a few minutes when treated in this way and capable of returning to their work or play peaceably and, what is more, with a significantly reduced inclination to resort to crying or tantrum behavior in the future. In the course of a few weeks, children in whom infantile crying is managed in this fashion often advance in social and emotional maturity by months or even years. Occasionally one encounters a child whose prior training has been so misguided as to have established either abnormally strong regressive tendencies or a so-called unconscious sense of guilt which makes him appear actually to seek punishment. The method here outlined for dealing with unjustifiable crying has limitations in such cases, the treatment of which calls for special psychological guidance; but by and large we have found that the use of this method has nothing but favorable consequences, both for the child himself and for the child-parent relationship. The average child seems to recognize clearly the aggressive implications of crying and accepts this method of dealing with this behavior as reasonable and just. In fact, after an adult and a child have worked out the crying problem in this fashion, the child usually not only seems to have an increased respect for and confidence in the adult but also seems to gain in affection for him. There are sound theoretical grounds for expecting this development which, however, cannot be discussed at this time.

This one warning! In using this method of treating crying, such few spankings as are administered for other reasons should conform to a special pattern. If a child has committed an offense which seems to the parent to warrant, let us say, five "spanks," the child should be explicitly told that this is the number he is to receive, provided—and this is especially important—that he takes them manfully and without crying. If there is crying, it should be penalized by additional "spanks," administered in precisely the same way as for crying under any other circumstance.

Because of the strong tabu against "in-group aggression" to which we have referred, there has been remarkably little discussion of the problem of physical punishment in children and a proportionately great amount of duplicity. We feel that we cannot longer refuse to face this issue. Spanking is common enough in practice but so secretive are we about it, because of our associated guilt-feelings, that it is but rarely subjected to frank examination and discussion. We strongly suspect that much more harm is done by spankings, as they are usually administered, than good. We cannot, however, escape the conviction that this method has a legitimate use, particularly in connection with the problem of unjustifiable crying; and we can find no reason for hesitating to record our conviction in this matter and the evidence upon which it is based. The writers are neither sentimentalists nor impractical theoreticians; nor are we afflicted, we hope, with more than the average amount of sadism. After seeing a number of other methods of dealing with the problem of crying in children empirically tested and found wanting, we have arrived at the present one; we have seen it repeatedly demonstrated to be effective, and careful observation of both the immediate and the more remote consequences has revealed no reason for believing that it is in any way inconsistent with the child's best interests. And these two criteria—effectiveness and harmlessness—are, we believe, the grounds upon which any method of child-training should stand or fall.

BETWEEN SIX AND TWELVE

(Continued from page 109)

The child refrains from the forbidden act but the burden of self-depreciation and of guilt is carried rather helplessly and to no avail. He thinks of himself as bad because he wants to disobey, and weak because he is afraid to. It would seem that punishment, in order to have any permanent effectiveness, must be coupled with an understanding of why the crime is a "crime," of what makes it undesirable. However, when that is genuinely understood, the punishment is usually not necessary. It only tends to counteract the renewed security gained from the understanding.

Certainly punishment is an emergency measure—mobilized to quell an individual riot—and as such may produce an immediate quiet. But when a riot has occurred, one had best take stock and ask, "Where did this come from? Has not trouble been brewing, but ignored, for some time?" The need for anti-riot measures is in itself a sure sign that careful reconstruction is indicated, that the child is in need of more far-reaching attention and understanding.

SCIENCE CONTRIBUTES

(Continued from page 116)

so as to ascertain whether there is a source of infection. This is especially true for servants in the home, but it is also important to know about the parents, teachers, and possibly the child's doctor.

A word about tuberculosis of the glands and tuberculosis of the bones and joints, types that were fairly common not so many years ago. These forms of tuberculosis were found to be due to a special strain, or breed of the germ—namely, the bovine type, which affects cattle and is transmitted to humans through milk. Because of stringent laws and their adequate enforcement, tuberculosis of human beings due to the bovine strain is today a very rare condition. In former times, infections of this type were also responsible for a large portion of infant deaths.

Now what is to be done with those cases of tuberculosis which have been discovered, either in a survey, or by the physician's examination?

In the first place, we must ascertain, from careful study of the patient, the character and the extent of the tuberculosis.

The first group of cases comprises those of such character that they require little or no active treatment. They need only rest and proper nursing care. There is no need to travel far from home, for climate will not make one particle of difference. If facilities are available in or near home, where friends or relatives can visit, the child will be happier there. It is necessary, of course, to guard against infecting others.

The second group comprises the great bulk of patients with tuberculosis. Bed rest alone is ineffective—in fact, it may be harmful since it often delays the beginning of more active treatment. All such active measures, whether they be pneumothorax (collapse of the lung by air) or even extensive operations on the ribs, have one purpose—the collapse of the infected portion of lung. Just as a gaping wound will not heal effectively unless the raw edges are brought together, so will the lung fail to heal unless we can bring together mechanically the raw surfaces. A great many of these people can return to sedentary or light occupations in a relatively short time, and are safe to associate with. Others must undergo more extensive procedures, and may have to remain in a hospital for a few years. In this group, too, treatment is best carried out near the home.

The third group in which mostly older people are involved is, fortunately, a very small one. In these cases, although a small amount of lung tissue is involved, it is scattered and therefore collapse treatment is impracticable. These people, both for their own comfort, and for the safety of the family—for they are open cases—should be sent away from home, and preferably to a dry climate.

The indiscriminate use of sunlight has often reactivated healed tuberculosis. This statement should not cause alarm. Properly graded doses of sunlight (or ultraviolet light during the winter months) are not only harmless but probably beneficial to a healthy person as well as to a tubercular individual. There is only one precaution to be taken: the child should not be permitted to become sunburned. By proper grading the exposure can be continued over a period to the point of a deep brown color, without any burn.

In summary, then:

1. Tuberculosis is an infectious, not an hereditary, disease. The death rate is declining rapidly, from 200 per 100,000 population in 1900, to 55.4 in 1936.
2. Tuberculosis, if found in time, is curable. To find cases early enough, routine procedures must be employed.
3. Climate plays a rôle in only a very small number of cases.
4. Sunlight is a two-edged sword. It is a useful ally in preventing and treating the disease, but if used improperly can be harmful.